

A STUDY OF RE-WRITING  
IN  
THE POETRY OF  
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH

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Separate volume: <u>Amours de Voyage</u> , by Arthur Hugh Clough: a critical edition, with textual and explanatory notes (Victorian Texts series, 1: Queensland University Press, St. Lucia, 1974).	



## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

For all the recent interest in Clough's poetry, there has been little critical study of the numerous drafts and revisions that he made, although these are unusual, both in their number and in the radical nature of the differences between the various versions. Drawing on the published variants in the revised Oxford Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, and on the Clough manuscripts at Oxford and at Harvard, this thesis attempts, through a mixture of literary, biographical, and textual criticism, a broadly chronological study of the kinds of re-writing Clough was doing at different periods of his life, concentrating on detailed study of the major poems.

Chapter I outlines the changing attitudes of critics to the "unfinished" state of many of Clough's poems, and examines the role of re-writing in Clough's poetic theory. Chapter II, drawing on Clough's recently-released journals, shows how his Rugby poetry already showed traces of re-writing. Chapter III surveys Tractarian attitudes to the process of literary composition, and their appeal to Clough, and argues, through detailed study of three manuscript groups, that in his Oxford years re-writing became central to Clough's art. Chapters IV-VII give stage-by-stage analyses of the composition and re-writing of Adam and Eve, The Bothie, Amours de Voyage, and Dipsychus, and suggest that the success of Amours de Voyage stems from Clough's incorporation into the later versions of divergent attitudes from his earlier drafts. Chapter VIII demonstrates the more stable pattern of composition in Clough's later work. A brief conclusion relates this study to the difficulty of editing the Clough texts.

Appendices are devoted to (i) the texts of "The Longest Day"; (ii) the posthumous editions of Clough's Poems (1862); and (iii) a bibliography of early editions (1835-69). A published edition of Amours de Voyage is submitted in support of the thesis.

# PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The materials on which this study is based are fairly scattered, and my indebtedness to the numerous people who have helped me, at one time or another, is correspondingly the greater. The early stages of the research were begun under the guidance of Professor Philip Collins, but the whole thesis in its present form was written under the supervision of Professor K.J. Fielding. Clough's great-niece, Miss Katharine Duff, encouraged my studies, and let me see her own Clough collection. Among Clough scholars, I owe particular debts to the generous encouragement of the late Professor F.L. Mulhauser, and of Dr. R.K. Biswas. Mr. P.S. McGrane and Professor Dorothy Deering both allowed me to see articles of theirs in advance of publication. Mr. E.P. Wilson, of Worcester College, Oxford, checked some transcriptions for me. Professor Charles Dunn, Master of Quincy House, Harvard University, arranged accommodation for me during my visit to Cambridge. Professor George O. Marshall, Jr., and Dr. W.J. Martin gave me copies of early Clough editions, and Mr. Simon Nowell-Smith loaned me a copy of the 1862 American edition, and shared his bibliographical knowledge. Many librarians, both in Britain and the U.S.A., have been most helpful, either in person or in correspondence, and I would like especially to thank Mr. David Easton of Edinburgh University Library; Mr. E.V. Quinn of Balliol College Library; and the staffs of the Bodleian Library and the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Manuscript collections on which I have drawn are listed in the bibliography, section I, and librarians and libraries who helped my preliminary bibliographical research are acknowledged in Appendix III. I have a continuing indebtedness to my wife Mary Jane, who encouraged me to complete this project.

My research on Clough has been in progress for a good while, and in parts of the thesis I draw on work I have previously published in separate form. A shorter version of chapter 6 formed part of the introduction to my edition of Amours de Voyage (Brisbane, 1974), which is also submitted in support of this study. Because Professor Mulhauser wished to make use of some of my conclusions in his revised Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough (Oxford, 1974), my analysis of the relationship between the two 1862 editions of Clough's Poems (Appendix II) was prepared for publication before the rest of the thesis and appeared in Harvard Library Bulletin, XX (1972), 320-36. The check-list of Clough's separately published works (Appendix III) first appeared in the Uncollected Authors series in the Book Collector, XXIII (1974), 518-36.

## CHAPTER ONE : THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

He never said his last word. Indeed, no word of his seems to have been said quite as he would have chosen to say it, had time and tide allowed. <sup>1</sup>

A judgement like that - from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1893 - used to be quite a common one on the poems of Arthur Hugh Clough. Until comparatively recently, Clough's strongest admirers were willing, even eager, to admit that his work was frequently imperfect, and to excuse this on the grounds that much of Clough's poetry remained unfinished, or unrevised, at his early death in November 1861. The American edition of the Poems, from the following year, carried a special introductory note to "excuse the somewhat unfinished state in which" the Mari Magno tales appeared; <sup>2</sup> and the fullest Victorian edition, by Clough's widow and the young J.A. Symonds, in 1869, stated in its preface: "There is much that is exceedingly fragmentary, for the aim has been to include, not finished productions alone, but whatever else can throw light on the mind and character of the writer." <sup>3</sup> Many other, often derivative, examples of critics using the textual uncertainty of Clough's poetry as a critical exculpation can be found from the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

More recent criticism has been less willing to see faults in Clough's poetry. For several decades now, critics have been re-discovering the lasting power of such poems as Amours de Voyage, and have been continually fascinated by the sharp satire and bristling irony of Dipsychus and some of the shorter poems. The strongest early statement of this critical revaluation was by Michael Roberts, in the introduction to his Faber Book of Modern Verse, but there have been <sup>4</sup> many such rediscoveries since then. Over the last fifteen years,

no less than eight full-length critical studies of Clough have been published, as well as a bibliography, a number of essays, three selections from his work, and the inevitable, if somewhat depressing, Critical Heritage collection: there have also been two "complete" editions of his poetry, a two-volume edition of his Correspondence, and a very selective edition of his Selected Prose Works.

Quite rightly, those who have been asserting the new valuation of Clough's poetry have been anxious to point out that many of what earlier generations saw as poetic flaws were, in fact, poetic innovations. What for the earlier critics, were metrical awkwardnesses are, for the modern Cloughmaniacs, the rhythms of living speech. As W.E. Houghton argues, Clough's early reviewers were often looking for a regular Romantic sage, and it is no discredit to Clough if his ironic, self-conscious, and colloquial verse failed to meet these irrelevant expectations: it was, says Houghton, "the contemporary distaste for Clough's particular virtues" that made his friends so apologetic about his poetry.<sup>5</sup> It made them also, sometimes unnecessarily, apologetic about the 'finish' of his poems.

But to admit this much cannot dispose of the nagging problem of the Clough texts. Only a small proportion, perhaps a third in all, of Clough's verse was prepared for printing by the author himself: only two of his five longer poems, for instance. Undoubtedly, Clough's own ideas about poetry were still developing during the years after his main 'creative' period, and some of his later revisions reflect these changed views, arguably incompatible with the poetry he had written earlier. One of the reasons Clough has seemed so attractive a Victorian poet has been the relative freedom with which he wrote

about sexuality, yet this freedom is more marked in drafts and early versions than in later revisions: it has been argued, by R.M. Gollin among others, that after his marriage Clough imposed a kind of self-censorship on poems which would have shocked his rather conventional wife - in Gollin's phrase, he "revised to make the poem respectably presentable to the Victorian tastes and judgements he increasingly accepted after his marriage."<sup>6</sup> Equally disarming for the critic is the possibility, implied by Gollin, and put forward by Geoffrey Tillotson, that the 'revised texts' of Clough's published poems, printed in the posthumous editions of 1862, were not authorially revised, but the subject of heavy editorial interference from Mrs. Clough.<sup>7</sup> If either of these possibilities - dishonest self-censorship or prudish posthumous editing - is substantially true, the critic is left with the choice of reading admittedly unfinished early drafts or maimed late versions. To these two problems, therefore, I give separate consideration in chapter 8 and Appendix II, of this thesis.

The most fascinating problem about the Clough texts, however, is not the editorial search for his latest revisions, but the multiple-draft rewriting process through which most of his poems passed, long before his marriage, and without any non-authorial assistance from a wife anxious about the Victorian proprieties. A single poem, which Mrs. Clough entitled "Love and Reason", could pass through three very different drafts, in the autumn of 1844, and still be substantially re-written for publication in the Clough-Burbidge collection, Ambarvalia, in 1849. As Professor Mulhauser showed many years ago, Clough's revisions in this case were partly intended to clarify his thinking in the poem, yet without a knowledge of the earlier version it is sometimes difficult to understand particular references within the



later, less personal, more intellectualised, text.<sup>8</sup> What Clough had originally referred to as his "Erotic" poem<sup>9</sup> became an abstract debate, where derivative poetic diction was appliqué onto the director remnants of his first inspiration. The fourth abstract stage had been reached before Clough even met his future wife, and several years before his marriage.

Not all Clough's poems go through so absolute a textual re-working as that. But even of the poems he completed and saw into print himself, most exist in many different drafts and versions - of The Bothie, there are two clearly distinct versions, and several other early and intermediate stages; and of Amours de Voyage, there are no less than five versions, as well as preliminary drafts (some intended for a non-dramatic treatment of the subject), and draft-versions for later revisions. When one considers the poems Clough himself did not publish - especially Adam and Eve and Dipsychus, where scraps of each poem are spread through several notebooks with little remaining evidence as to the overall pattern intended - then the textual problem becomes inescapable. It is a rare, and usually an uninteresting, Clough poem that exists in only a single draft.

The textual problem is important, not just because of the amount of revision, but much more because of the kind of rewriting involved. Many poets revise their poetry heavily and carefully, but in a way that makes clearer or richer a single, gradually evolving conception of the poem. With such poets - Tennyson is one - the critic can usually leave to the textual scholar the task of establishing a single, definitive, text of the work; when such a work is read in its final state, the reader is exploring a poem all of whose elements, no matter when they were written, the author at one specifiable time intended to form a

single whole. Even in the case of a work revised as heavily, and over so long a period, as Wordsworth's Prelude, it is possible to read the poem as it was in at least two stages of its gradual growth, and have from each stage a coherent text for critical consideration, if not a complete one for biographical or historical study. Works which follow this kind of gradual, linear, development exist for the critic in one or more stable texts, texts to which the critic can attribute an integrity of authorial intention.

But there are other kinds of poetic revision, kinds which have been particularly apparent since the nineteenth century: these are revisions which seem to introduce some new and dissonant material into a work, material which so conflicts with the earlier drafted poem as to make us see it in a way we could not previously have imagined; the new material does not extend or elaborate the earlier version, but modify or contradict it. Revisions of this second kind, by adding new attitudes, may add also a richness of irony and self-consciousness which the first version lacked, and in many of Clough's revisions, the "second thoughts" have just this effect. Indeed, rewriting or rethinking is the basis of all that is most adult and complex in his poetry. But, equally, the drafting of such revisions, the trial and error and self-repudiation through which such irony is achieved, leads to textual fragmentation and an unstable, multiple, poetic intention. Rewriting of a kind as radical as Clough's may well, at the draft stage, add material which the author will never, and never perhaps intends to, integrate with his original poem into a finished single version. Texts edited from Clough's manuscripts will include poems where tonal dissonance is Clough's (revised and considered) intention for the poem: but equally they will include poems where the integrity of the given text, with



its mixture of first and second thoughts, was never an intention of Clough's.

It is the argument of this thesis that the tangle of the Clough revisions is not simply a technical problem, to be left to editorial technicians, but an important critical fact about his poetry. Much of what is most original and arresting in his work stems directly from his peculiar and individual attitude to the process of writing and rewriting poetry. Clough was quite capable of "editing" his poems into a unified, and occasionally smug, straightforwardness; he was capable also of writing first drafts which utilize the characteristic self-irony of his developed tone; but the bulk of his poetry gains its multiplicity of tone and attitude from successive re-writings, and these re-writings were not the careful craftsmanlike repolishing of his original conception, but the superimposition of a second, later, often dissonant, rethinking of the poem upon the first version. We must distinguish finished revisions, from experimental reworkings, before we can judge Clough's achievement in this mode. It is only in texts which the author saw as having integrity, that the critic can begin to distinguish tonal uncertainty from a controlled ironic multiplicity of viewpoint. The textual problem is thus unusually central to the literary interpretation and evaluation of Clough's work.

Some support for such<sup>a</sup>/seemingly-arid approach to his work may be found, rather surprisingly, in Clough's own comments on the process of composition. Most recent studies of Clough have, rightly, paid due attention to his strong and clearly-expressed views on the social function and proper concerns of a modern literature. <sup>10</sup> As Wendell Harris has pointed out, poetry had also for Clough a personal function,

almost independent of any publication or audience. "Clough was using poetry", Harris writes, "as a means of clarifying to himself questions, problems, and possible answers".<sup>11</sup> For this second, more personal, purpose for poetry, of course, the process of composition was much more important than an achieved final statement, in a neatly definitive text. Clough's ideas about poetry varied in different periods of his life, but some of his writings from the early eighteen-fifties contain comments which suggest that Clough recognized the special attitude towards a text and its revision, implicit in personal or exploratory verse. There is, for instance, one poem, written in or soon after 1851, at a time when not even Amours de Voyage had been cast into a stable form, and when Clough was particularly conscious about the paucity of his public achievement, because of his insecurity as Principal of University Hall.<sup>12</sup> It has attracted no critical comment in the abundance of Clough criticism of recent years, except a brief reference to the "light-hearted banter of the poem", by Robindra Biswas, who, in any case, considers it unfinished "doggerel".<sup>13</sup> Although there are variants in the notebook draft, it is no more "unfinished" than, say, most of Dipsychus, and is making rather similar use of playful metre for an almost too personal sense:

If to write, rewrite, and write again,  
 Bite now the lip and now the pen,  
 Gnash in a fury the teeth, and tear  
 Innocent paper or it may be hair,  
 5 In endless chases to pursue  
 That swift escaping word that would do,  
 Inside and out turn a phrase, o'er and o'er,  
 Till all the little sense goes, it had before, -

If it be these things make one a poet,  
 10 I am one - Come and all the world may know it.

If to look over old poems and detest  
 What one once hugged as a child to one's breast,  
 Find the things nothing that once had been so much,  
 The old noble forms gone into dust at a touch:  
 15 If to see oneself of one's fancied plumage stript,  
 If by one's faults as by furies to be whipt;  
 If to become cool and, casting for good away  
 All the old implements, take 'em up the next day;  
 If to be sane tonight and insane again to-morrow,  
 20 And salve up past pains with the cause of future sorrow, -  
 If to do these things make a man a poet,  
 I am one - Come and all the world may know it.

If nevertheless no other peace of mind,  
 No inward unity ever to find,  
 25 No calm, well-being, sureness or rest  
 Save when by that strange temper possess,  
 Out of whose kind sources in pure rhythm-flow  
 The easy melodious verse-currents go;  
 If to sit still while the world goes by,  
 30 Find old friends dull and new friends dry,  
 Dinners a bore and dancing worse,  
 Compared to the tagging of verse onto verse, -  
 If it be these things make one a poet,  
 I am [one] - Come [and] all the world [may] know [it].<sup>14</sup>

This poem gives a fascinating insight into Clough's thinking at one of the periods of his life when he was most prickly and defensive. That what Biswas considers the "light-hearted banter" of the poem was a deliberately achieved tone is shown by some of the notebook revisions to it. In line 4, for instance, Clough cancelled "The guiltless paper, unoffending hair", in favour of the rougher, more improvisatory, "Innocent paper, or it may be hair". In line 6, he changes "one evasive word" (where revision is a limited, particular problem), to "swift escaping word" (where the experience is general to writing). Similarly, the "doggerel" rhythm was deliberately achieved: in line 28, Clough alters the regular first draft "The swift melodious currents flow", to the still-regular but doubtful "The oft-melodious currents flow", before finally settling on the much more complicated and disturbing rhythm of "The easy melodious verse-currents go".

Clough's revision in line 20 (altering "to comfort old pains", to "salve up past pains") shows that he saw the contrast between his present, and his earlier, experience of the struggles of composition: by introducing the medical metaphor "salve", he makes explicit in the poem, what was previously implicit, - the answer it gives to John Keble's therapeutic theory of poetry. Keble had asserted in his Oxford lectures on poetry that poetry was "a kind of medicine divinely bestowed on man; which gives healing relief to secret mental emotion".<sup>15</sup> Clough accepted something of this attitude to poetry, especially during his Balliol years.<sup>16</sup> Significantly, when one considers how much of Clough's poetry involves metrical experiment, Keble had linked the mechanics of poetry to its healing function: he argued that poets "have sometimes found relief ... by following the leadings of measure and rhythm, like a labyrinthine clue".<sup>17</sup> It shows how far Clough had developed

since those Balliol years, therefore, that he now felt the healing offered by poetry to be a temporary one, the "salve" itself only the "cause of future sorrow". "Salve", after all, indicates a surface treatment only.

The revisions within the single notebook draft of this poem suggest that Clough had worked over it fairly closely, and that the poem is a careful, if not total, expression of some of Clough's feeling about verse-composition. It expresses a sense of the purely personal function of verse-writing, independent of any concern with audience or publication. It expresses a rather self-conscious irony against the status of such verse-writing - merely the unromantic "tagging of verse onto verse". It expresses also a strong revulsion against the sheer inadequacy of his own verse-achievements - detesting his own child, whipped by his own faults - to the point of temporarily repudiating poetry altogether (lines I7-I8). Through it all, however, in the variations of the re-written refrain, goes the assertion that these experiences are the real hall-mark of the true poet; and Clough's assertion here is much stronger and more forceful for the playful self-irony which precedes it.

Like many of Clough's best poems, "If to write, rewrite and write again" was itself, apparently, a reworking of the general implications of a previous, more limitingly-autobiographical poem. In the new (second) edition of the Oxford Poems of ... Clough, there has been printed, for the first time, another three-stanza poem from the same notebook, also dealing with the question of poetic revision. <sup>18</sup> In it, Clough toys ironically with the pointlessness of spending long hours on revising his poetry; he claims to have been fooled into revision by a chance compliment from a charming young lady; he claims also that

the lady has through her flirting given him a false sense of needing to please an audience - the lady herself, if not the Vulgar public. But the third stanza belies such self-deprecation, for in it the purely personal fascination and contentments of the rewriting process are lovingly detailed:

I wondered much what once I spurned  
 To pleasure pure should now be turned.  
 Content here found, I knew not why,  
 Long hours of vex correction ply;  
 To turn, to twist, reject, replace  
 And win the rebel rhymes to grace.  
 In joy I slaved nor had one thought  
 I was but fooled in all I wrought...

It seems to be from this more limited, more sceptical poem, that the strong assertion of "If to write" was developed. When the two poems are put alongside each other, indeed, the positive strengths of the second one become clear. Dr. Biswas interestingly points out, for purposes of contrast, that there are two further lines written by Clough in the notebook, against the draft of "If to write":

Go thou that seeks't thy worldly gain  
 Go seek it not from me.

"The two lines", he suggests, "foreign as they are to the light-hearted banter of the poem, really restate in a graver key much that is implicit in its playful self-irony".<sup>19</sup> The repudiation of a public career links directly to the repudiation of the role of a publishing poet: visible achievement did not seem to Clough the important element in his moral or his creative experience. The process was real and worthwhile, and personal and private, even if the achievement later



came to be detested.

The two poems discussed so far, from the 1851 (A) notebook, are by no means isolated examples. Elsewhere, too, Clough pictures the composition process as one of painful and absorbing re-writing. In Clough's long Faust-poem, Dipsychus, there is a satiric description by the Spirit of the hero's attempts to avert his eyes and mind from the prostitutes of Venice:

don't be sure -

Emotions are so slippery. Aye keep close  
And burrow in your bedroom; pace up and down  
A long half hour; with talking to yourself  
Make waiters wonder; sleep a bit; write verse,  
Burnt in disgust, then ill-restored, and left  
Half-made, in pencil scrawl illegible.

Here, just as Dipsychus's reluctance to face the prostitutes symbolises (for the Spirit) his reluctance to face the real world, so his indecisiveness with his poetry mirrors his indecision about moral ideas. But the picture of the composition-process, even when used for satirical purposes, is strikingly similar to Clough's first-person analysis in "If to write", and to the evidence of his surviving manuscript drafts.

While Clough was in America, in 1852-53, he attempted to deal with the problems of such author-based view of composition, in an article for Putnam's Monthly Magazine, the first in his series of "Letters of Paripedemus".<sup>21</sup>

As so often when Clough's subject matter made him self-conscious, the self-consciousness found expression in a kind of defensive lightness of tone, and an extreme scepticism. The ostensible theme of the essay (reflected in the title supplied for it by Professor Trawick) is the

way the criteria of judgement for art and literature change necessarily from period to period. It is a constant theme in the mid-nineteenth century, that the modern age requires to be interpreted by a modern poetry, and Clough himself wrote on this topic elsewhere, notably in the review "Recent English Poetry" published in the North American Review in this same month.<sup>22</sup> But the Letter of Paripedemus is much more self-conscious, even introspective, than Clough's other essays on literary principles: it begins, for instance, with a reckoning that Clough had spent twenty-five years away from America, since he went to England in 1828, and with a very sceptical assessment of his achievements in that period. The ostensible public subject - the inadequacy of literary criteria learned from one's elders - is subservient to the much more pressing personal problem - the problem of a poet who is continually dissatisfied with his own creations. "Will posterity know anything of our miserably imperfect, impotent fugitive verses?", asked Clough, with an Arnoldian irony directed in a most unArnoldian way against himself, and will "contemporaneity be none the worse for them"?<sup>23</sup> The rejection of his own poetry in this Letter recalls the poem quoted above, where the poet found "the things nothing that once had been so much". In short, the first Letter of Paripedemus is an exploration of the poet's personal plight, rather than a discourse on the public standards by which poetry should be judged.

Such personal interpretation of the Letter gives new irony to the anecdote Clough introduces to illustrate the dissatisfaction an artist feels with his own work. "Did I really read", Clough wrote, "or only dream somewhere that anecdote of an elderly painter, who, going over one day, with a friend of his youth, who had known him in his prime and promise, a series of his most popular and most admired



pieces, said mournfully, 'All these poor, unmeaning, ill-designed, half-executed things, I have made to earn bread and time to do that', pointing to a chaotic unfinished canvas at the end of the room, 'and that after all, is as bad as any of them'.<sup>24</sup> Clough's most admired poems, of course, had been the confident Arnoldian lyrics of the mid-1840s, and the pastoral of The Bothie; for him, though, especially in the period since his resignation from Oriel in 1848, a more personal and modern poetry had been of greater importance; and, like the elderly painter, he must now have felt that the unfinished Amours de Voyage and the unfinished Dipsychus were "as bad as any of them".

The composition process, indeed, in this Letter, is shown as a continual dissent from one's own previous judgements, a continual revision of one's own ideas: "Weaving and unweaving, learning and unlearning, learning painfully, painfully unlearning, under the orders of the cruel King".<sup>25</sup> Clearly the view of poetry put forward corresponds closely to Clough's views of the constant change and adjustment needed in moral, political and religious understanding also. In the Letter, the viewpoint is summed up most memorably in a short poem, "Upon the water, in a boat". As with Clough's other poems about rewriting, it has attracted remarkably little comment from modern critics.<sup>26</sup> As published in Putnam's it read:

Upon the water in a boat,  
I sit and sketch as there we float;  
The scene is fair, the stream is strong,  
I sketch it as we float along.

5 The stream is strong, and as I sit  
And view the picture that we quit,

It flows and flows, and bears the boat,  
And I sit sketching as we float.

Still as we go, the things I see,  
10 E'en as I see them, cease to be,  
The angles shift, and with the boat  
The whole perspective seems to float.

Each pointed height, each wavy line,  
To new and other forms combine;  
15 Proportions change and colors fade,  
And all the landscape is remade.

Depicted, - neither far, nor near,  
And larger there, and smaller here,  
And partly old, and partly new,  
20 E'en I can hardly think it true.

Yet still I look, and still I sit,  
Adjusting, shaping, altering it;  
And still the current bears the boat  
And me, still sketching as we float. 27

The metrical equilibrium of the verse should not obscure for us the radical element in Clough's acceptance of the sketchy inadequacy of his art. The originality of the poem lies in linking the static, spectator-pose of the artist with the trope, common enough with both Romantics and Victorians, of the stream of life bearing us relentlessly onwards. Clough presents, therefore, a non-static view of the artist

and his art, which clashes with any critical ideas about finally achieved intentions, or definitive texts.

The poem may, in fact, be a deliberate answer to the views of Matthew Arnold, one more exchange in the continuing critical debate  
28  
between the two men. Clough's headmaster, and Arnold's father, Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, had used the image of the boat on a river, to symbolise the feeling that man was merely a helpless victim of historical change, incapable of struggling to the safety of the river-  
29  
bank, in his Oxford history lectures. Matthew Arnold himself had used the same image, to symbolise the impossibility of reaching a static, single attitude in love, in a poetic retrospect on the "Marguerite" experience. In the poem "A Dream", Arnold pictures himself, with a friend, floating in a boat down a green Alpine stream: suddenly, they caught sight of two beautiful girls, and the boat seemed to hold still.

we rose, we gazed.

One moment, on the rapid's top, our boat  
Hung poised - and then the darting river of Life  
(Such now, methought, it was), the river of Life,  
30  
Loud thundering, bore us by.

But it is in a second poem, from about the same period (1851-2), that Arnold begins to use the boat-image for a general picture of the impossibility of seeing clearly and seeing whole, when trapped in the process of historical change. This second poem is "The Future", which was first published in Arnold's Empedocles on Etna, and Other Poems (1852), the volume reviewed by Clough in his "Recent English Poetry" essay. In "The Future", Arnold bewails the changing, urbanised perspective on the banks of the modern life-stream:

Vainly does each, as he glides,  
 Fable and dream  
 Of the lands which the river of Time  
 Had left ere he woke on its breast ...  
 Gone is the calm of its earlier shore.  
 Bordered by cities and hoarse  
 With a thousand cries is its stream.  
 And we on its breast, our minds  
 Are confused as the cries which we hear,  
 Changing and shot as the sights which we see. 31

Arnold takes two examples - the lover and the bard - as men particularly affected by the movement of the river, and he plainly regards the "change" in the sights surrounding modern man as being disabling and damaging. Only in the mountain past and ocean future, can he project stillness. In the conclusion of the poem, Arnold's only hope for the future is the widening of the river into an infinite ocean, where there are no distracting, changing realities on banks close by. Change, in Arnold's poem, is to be endured only until it has been overcome.

In Clough's first Letter of Paripedeus, however, the river of Time image ceases to be either apocalyptic (as in "A Dream"), or merely alienating (as in "The Future"). Rather as in Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, the time-bound, limited, changing position of man is accepted as inevitable, and as far as one can tell permanent. By exchanging the images of lover or bard for that of artist, Clough brings out the radical nature of his difference from Arnold. The idea of development in attitudes, in spoken thought, is much less shocking than the idea

of development in a visual image, especially in the days before the kinesis of film or television, yet it is the more shocking, more paradoxical, image for thought which Clough adopts. The painter, constantly revising the painting as each revision is itself made inadequate to represent the changing scene, still goes on sketching. Change, in Clough's poem, is to be accepted, and attempts to overcome it would lead to progressive unreality. This was one of the chief criticisms Arnold made of Clough, in a letter in the autumn of this same year: "You are too content to fluctuate - to be ever learning, never coming to the knowledge of the truth".<sup>32</sup>

Of course, this poem of Clough's like the Arnold poem, which it may answer, can be taken as symbolising the role of all men in the change-conscious nineteenth-century: in politics, love, religion, as well as in poetry, Clough perceived the wilfulness of asserting one's own exemption from the changes brought by time. This general interpretation of the poem's central symbolism was what J.A. Symonds emphasized in the title he provided, when the poem was included in Clough's Poems and Prose Remains (1869): he entitled it "πάντα ῥεῖ οὐδὲν μένει" ("Everything flows - nothing remains," Heracitus). Symonds's title, of course, suggests a doom-laden attitude to change which is alien to Clough's poem, but which the 1869 text produces, by ending the poem with a cancelled stanza Clough himself had once intended to go in the middle of the poem:

Still as I sit, with something new  
The foreground intercepts my view;  
Even the distant mountain range  
From the first moment suffers change.

33

Clough's own text, however, was intended to end with acceptance,

not suffering:

Yet still I look and still I sit,  
Adjusting, shaping, altering it;  
And still the current bears the boat  
And me, still sketching as I float.

The difference of ending is critical to the right interpretation of the poem—in Symonds's text, the whole tone is altered, and the attitudes become merely the commonplace resentments of the age of uncertainty. If the poem is to be read, out of context, as a symbol of man's general plight, then it must at least be read in Clough's text, as a poem of acceptance, not of doom.

But the paradoxes of the artist-image are much sharper if the poem is viewed within the context of its first publication, the article in Putnam's. It is primarily a poem about the problems of the artist or poet facing the changing realities of his life, and about the constant inadequacy of art to cope with present life. It is within this context that the references to artistic revision within the poem gain their force: in the poem, Clough may be answering Arnold's plea for God-like certainty of viewpoint, but he is also conveying the sensations of the composition-revision process. The artist-speaker of the poem comes over as a true artist, because of our knowledge of his work-process, and in spite of the fact we know he can never 'finish' the picture. It is an exact analogy to the definition of the true poet as one who re-writes.

In the first Letter of Paripedeumus, however, Clough does not close his discussion, without examining the functions, as well as the limitations, of an art which remains provisional and re-writable. "Prove to the utmost the imperfection of our views, our thoughts,



our conclusions; yet you will not have established the uselessness of writing".<sup>34</sup> He suggests two simple and fairly humble functions for modern writing, "to talk to one's fellow creatures", and "to relieve one's self by a little exchange of ideas".<sup>35</sup> Both, one might note, are functions of immediate value, independent of future re-use of the writing; therefore art which serves such functions is valuable, whether or not it then ceases to satisfy future readers. Both functions, too, involve essentially poet-centred ideas of poetry,<sup>36</sup> rather than reader-centred ones.

The second of these functions, Clough discusses in extenso. Clearly, the initial idea is that which has been discussed above - Keble's theory about the therapeutic relief the poet finds in expressing his secret emotions. In this discussion, though, Clough foregoes the Romantic assertion of a true, "inner", "secret", or "buried" life to be expressed in poetry, and chooses to use "relief" in a punning sense which includes the ideas of protection and escape, rather than simply soothing and salving. He links it, in fact, not so much to the healing, as to the changing, of the poet's mind. The poet relieves himself "by the exchange [literally] of ideas"; "by writing, we relieve ourselves, we unlearn ... The observations that we can make nothing of, the maxims that have ceased to be serviceable to us, our spent theories, our discarded hypotheses ... our follies, fancies, falsities; oh happy relief! - away with them to the Magazine".<sup>37</sup> In the first poem of this letter, the same idea had been introduced - for the artist in the boat had sketched looking backwards: he was viewing "the picture that we quit". In the same way, Clough suggests, writing is a way in which we can articulate, distance ourselves from, and so relieve

ourselves of, attitudes we wish to discard. "Each striking new novel does but reveal a theory of life and action which its writer is anxious to be rid of".<sup>38</sup> When we read the classics in the search for truth, we are "swallowing as truth, what [the writers] put away from them —<sup>39</sup> expressed, because it was false or insufficient".

Clough has, of course, landed himself and his readers by now in a logical paradox: if whatever we express becomes inadequate by being expressed, the writer can only choose between alternative modes of failure — the failure of inadequacy, provisionality in his art, and the failure of silence. He emphasizes this paradox by embodying the two sides of the argument in short 'parables'. It was, after all, a paradox born of his own creative experience, going right back to his internal debates while a schoolboy at Rugby, over the "temptation" of poetry, a period which was astonishingly productive.<sup>40</sup> When one looks back at the art of past ages, one finds however that the paradox is overstated: "some function, indeed, higher than that of mere self-relief, we must conceive of for the writer", Clough asserts. Why? Because we can see much greater achievement and discovery "in the spheric architecture of St. Peter's, in the creative touches of The Tempest".<sup>41</sup> For the artist of the present, he infers, both provisionality and restrained silence may be imperfect courses: but art is "not impotent, not wholly unavailing".<sup>42</sup> The constant labours of the poet to "sum up the large experience of ages, to lay the finger on yet unobserved, or undiscovered phenomena of the Inner Universe"<sup>43</sup> will not be useless, even if they are imperfect.

The faint echo of Clough's lyric of liberal political hope, "Say not the struggle nought availeth", was probably significant, for it was in the circumstances of battle-field chaos, and probable political



defeat for the Roman republic, that Clough had drafted his most famous assertion of the purpose of continuing struggle.<sup>44</sup> In Clough, an assertion of faith or hope is usually linked to a full consciousness of the concomitant difficulties and inadequacies, whether in a political republic or a poetic revision. The argument-structure of this Letter of Paripedeumus parallels, indeed, an earlier poem in which Clough had propounded a psychological, or physiological, theory of poetic composition, only to assert that "It may be and yet be not", that great poetry could not be dismissed even if unromantic explanations could be provided for its composition.<sup>45</sup> But the concluding paradox of the first Letter to Paripedeumus is much more complex, much less bland, than in the political lyric or the Ambarvalia poem. This complexity, I think, comes from the extensive discussion which precedes it, which takes the reader into the poet's experience of writing, and shows him the ambiguous realities of the composition process. Clough's assertion of the value of poetry is felt as a true paradox, not merely a play on words (as in "Is it true, ye Gods"), because the complexities of composition have been fully presented.

Clough concluded the Paripedeumus letter, his most important discussion of the composition process, with another section of poetry. The poem links so closely to earlier paragraphs of the essay, that one must assume that it was composed specially to sum up the preceding argument. For instance, the architectural success of Michaelangelo's dome at St. Peter's, and the poetic success of Shakespeare, referred to in the prose passage quoted above, are both cited again in the poem, the argument of which is that a continuing tradition of imperfect creation is necessary before great art can be produced. The argument, one notes, can apply equally well to the individual artists or poet's development:

... thousand hearts on thousand years  
 Had wasted labor, hopes and fears,  
 Knells, laughter and unmeaning tears,  
 Ere England Shakespeare saw, or Rome  
 The pure perfection of her dome.  
 Others, I doubt not, if not we,  
 The issue of our toils shall see.

46

Even in this concluding assertion, the paradox is fully maintained, both in the multiple negatives and ostentatious caution, and in the references to "wasted" labour, and "unmeaning" tears. If future generations were to judge the "issue" of Clough's efforts at composition, he himself was content to see only the toils.

The preceding survey of Clough's mature writings on the composition process has thrown into relief the marked extent to which Clough, particularly in the early eighteen-fifties, was aware of poetry as provisional and imperfect, rather than eternal and inspired. The emphasis in all the writings of these years is on the "long hours of text correction", and on the reality of constant revision and re-writing, "adjusting, shaping, altering", "weaving and unweaving, learning and unlearning", rejecting and replacing earlier creations. This emphasis is a writer-centred one, springing directly from Clough's own experience of writing, and his mature reflection on it. It is an emphasis that sorts well with the extraordinary variety of Clough's surviving manuscript drafts, and with the very wide, almost wild, variations in tone and outlook between different stages in the development of a single "poem". It is, however, as Clough himself was aware, and as he points out in the first Paripedeumus letter, an emphasis that is foreign to most readers or critics.

As readers and critics, meeting poems in single versions, and in monumentally-printed definitive texts, we confront a rather different Clough, an enormously varied and lively poet, but one few of whose poems seem wholly inevitable or perfectly 'finished'. Attempts, however ingenious and well-intentioned, to demonstrate that Clough's poems are perfect, according to an unVictorian idea of perfection, will always, in the end, seem irrelevant. Somehow or other, the 'revisability' of Clough's poetry seems part of its very character, not an unfortunate surface appearance which must be shown to be illusory. Clough's many, and over-protective, recent rediscoverers have leaped too quickly to the 'defence' or 'explanation' of his stylistic variability, for there is a radical instability in the texts of Clough's poetry to which a merely critical or merely editorial concern cannot do justice. As Henry Sidgwick, one of the earliest critics to appreciate Clough, wrote in his review of the Poems and Prose Remains (1869), Clough left much material "that the author had probably not composed for permanence and . . . verse that is either palpably unfinished, or at any rate not stamped with the author's final approval".<sup>47</sup>

This chronological study of Clough's re-writing, therefore, is an attempt to use a mixture of literary, biographical and textual criticism, not to establish Clough's definitive intentions, but to get closer to his own understanding of his poetry. Exploring the kinds of revision he undertook, and the relative importance of new writing and re-writing for him at different periods of his life, provides an insight into the rôle poetry had for him, a rôle rather different from that most modern critics are prepared to allow. Clough was as interested in the process, the experience, of composition, as he was in any final poetic achievements, and to judge his achievement

we need to take account of this, because it radically affected the nature of even his finished works. Indeed, his attitude to re-writing, as it is revealed from his draft-poems, proves a powerful metaphor for his developing ideas and beliefs about all those central metaphysical problems, which occupied him throughout his life. It was, after all, in the middle of the Putnam's article discussed above, that Clough first published lines which have often since been applied to his religious and social beliefs:

To spend uncounted years of pain

Again, again, and yet again

In working out in heart and brain

The problem of our being here;

To gather facts from far and near;

Upon the mind to hold them clear,

And, knowing more may yet appear,

Unto one's latest breath to fear

The premature result to draw,-

Is this the object, end, and law

And purpose of our being here?

48

That those lines themselves first appeared as part of a discussion of imperfection, and revision, in poetry, shows, I think, that Clough, too, had come to realise how closely his attitudes to his poetic texts and his general beliefs were intertwined.

## CHAPTER TWO - TRACES OF RE-WRITING IN THE RUGBY POEMS

Clough has perhaps been unlucky, in that a large number of his juvenile poems has been preserved, particularly poems written between the ages of sixteen and eighteen for the Rugby Magazine. The Victorian biography records that Clough, while at Rugby, was "perpetually writing verses, not remarkable except for a certain ease of expression and for a power of running on, not common at that early age".<sup>1</sup> Clough's later verse-portrait of his schoolboy self shows him as a fluent verse-writer.<sup>2</sup> The verses themselves have not usually appealed to the critics who value the characteristic achievements of Clough's maturity: "melodramatically priggish", "shy, derivative, commonplace", and "forgivably derivative"<sup>3</sup> are three recent judgements on Clough's Rugby poetry, and support for such judgements is easy to find. As one would expect in a pupil of Dr. Arnold, there are poems which echo Wordsworth ("Lines" and "An Incident"); and there are patches of very prosaic Wordsworth too ("Dead Man's Corner", lines 60-65). There are also imitations and echoes from Byron ("Dead man's Corner", "Epilogue to the Sonnets"), from Macaulay ("Count Egmont"), from Scott and Coleridge ("Rosabel's Dream"), and Tennyson ("Song of the Hyperborean Maidens").<sup>4</sup>

Even if the poems have little intrinsic value, they have attracted a good deal of attention from those anxious to find the seeds of Clough's poetic development. The fullest such study, by R.M. Gollin, found the poems chiefly expressive of Clough's Arnoldian aspirations, occasionally relieved by a little unofficial light-heartedness.<sup>5</sup> Others have seen in them only a humourless schoolboy idealism.<sup>6</sup> But most recent biographers have found already in Clough's late adolescence (the Rugby period), something of the vacillation, "the morbidly painful self-

analysis", which was to mark his more mature writing.<sup>7</sup> It is the argument of this chapter that there are traces in the Rugby poems, not so much of the attitudes, as of the composition methods, from which Clough's characteristic tone was to emerge.

This argument might appear, on the face of things, unlikely, for there is much apparently contrary evidence about Clough's youthful attitudes to poetry. His earliest poems invoke a dominant, bardic role for the poet, far removed from any uncertainty.<sup>8</sup> In "Snowdon", for instance, the poet dreams of the heroic Welsh past, wakes up, and begins composition:

Amazed, inspired, he strikes the willing lyre;  
The lyre responds with more than wonted fire.<sup>9</sup>

A more elaborate, and developed, poem, written when Clough was seventeen, answered an earlier contributor's praise of Memory as the basis of poetry, by asserting instead that the poetry of the spontaneous imagination was higher in nature:

... give me rather the strain that springs  
At once on its fresh and eager wings,  
Like the lark at the early dawning;  
And oh, at once with the present light  
Come the lofty song of the lofty flight  
'Mid the slanting beams of morning!

He advises the other poet not to rely on memory, but to return, Wordsworth-like, to nature:

... come thou too - and thou shalt know  
By thy bosom's strong and eager glow,  
And the yearning heart within thee,  
And thy tardy tongue unlocked and free,



And thy words that flow spontaneously,  
 That the Present too can win thee;  
 That there is a strain as vivid and true,  
 And a melody purer and sweeter,  
 Than the artful rhymes of after times,  
 10  
 And Memory's polished metre.

As R.M. Gollin notes, "the requirements of poetical debate have  
 11  
 driven Clough into an extreme position", but Gollin goes on to  
 infer that Clough in the Rugby poems rejected the very idea of revision.  
 Gollin writes, "to polish, [Clough] seems to have believed, is to destroy  
 a poem's integrity, its oneness with the creative impulse, to destroy  
 12  
 its truth. His Rugby poems are the worse for this belief". Until  
 very recently, the Rugby poems were only available in the published  
Magazine texts, and there was no manuscript evidence against which  
 Professor Gollin's inference could be tested.

But Clough's writings about poetry from the Rugby period express  
 doubts about poetic inspiration, at least as often as they express  
 confidence. In "The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner", for instance, Clough  
 included a fairly-stock passage on the inadequacy of "human words" to  
 express the Poacher's feelings:

... none may speak his agony.  
 And what he felt and what he thought,  
 Human pen can tell ye nought;  
 For human words are too dull and too cold,  
 13  
 For the heart's deep feelings by them to be told.

In a poem directly concerned with the nature of poetry, "The  
 Exordium", Clough describes Poesy as "thou, whom long my heart has known,  
 /Nay, rather striven to know", and asks:

Shall man's weak words approach thy holy place?

14

Shall man's weak wits set forth thy centred grace?

Although Clough goes on to assert that poems need not be perfect, and can be just refracted single colours from the pure white light of Poesy, the emphasis is on the difficulty, not the spontaneity, of poetic composition. The same emphasis on the difficulty of poetry reappears in the light-hearted "Apology", lines explaining why he did not produce a verse contribution for the July 1836 number of the Magazine.<sup>15</sup>

Rather less direct evidence lies in a very striking passage in the Rugby Magazine, in the prose contribution, "A Schoolboy's Story". It was this story that Clough had recommended to his family, three thousand miles distant in South Carolina, because he hoped that it would help them to understand the nervous strain he had himself been under, as a sixth-former in Arnold's school.<sup>16</sup> The story describes an anonymous Rugbean, who had worked too hard, grown too introspective, and had a kind of nervous breakdown. Although Clough subsequently warned his family that the fictional schoolboy was not "meant for me", he still maintained that "there is a good deal that does apply very strongly".<sup>17</sup> It is, therefore, an interesting contrast with the polished encomium on spontaneous composition which Clough himself submitted to the magazine, to find that the fictional schoolboy's manuscripts were very different indeed:

The fruit of his labours was a manuscript, which he gave me. It was a curious evidence of the state of his mind; one line in three was scratched out, and of the sentences that remained, many had no pretensions to grammar, and some were incoherent; there were the beginnings of animated sentences left unfinished; and, again, some unmeaning scratching, followed by the remainder of a sentence; and here and there, in the intervals, he had been drawing all manner of curious shapes and figures with his pen, imperfect and half-formed, but yet in a masterly style.<sup>18</sup>



This extraordinary passage, from a story Clough admitted to be a partial likeness, could be a description of many of his mature manuscripts.

But, happily, new evidence has recently become available which shows beyond doubt, that whatever brave talk Clough may have indulged in about the primacy of spontaneity, in practice he already found the process of composition to be one of careful and multiple revision. It has long been known that Clough kept detailed diaries during his Rugby and Oxford careers, and they were drawn on for brief references both by Mrs. Clough, and also by H.F. Lowry in his edition of Arnold's letters to Clough; only in 1973, however, were the journals deposited in Balliol College library, and made available for study.<sup>19</sup>

The journals contain manuscript drafts of three poems, two of which were published in the Rugby Magazine. These, of course, show the sort of minor revisions of phrasing that one would expect to find between manuscript and published text: in Clough's "Count Egmont", for example, "tear" (MS) becomes "tears" (Rugby Magazine), and so on. But the "Count Egmont" example also shows Clough writing an early draft, and then completely rewriting into an expanded version. The journal draft is only fourteen lines, the first eight of which are substantially the same as in the published text. The remaining six lines of manuscript became the basis for lines 13, 14, 15, and 17 of a poem which was in its rewritten form to extend the situation to sixty lines instead of sixteen.<sup>20</sup>

The journals also contain evidence of the long hours of preparation Clough put into his contributions to the Rugby Magazine,<sup>21</sup> and definite evidence, of what one might have inferred anyway, that some of the general poetry articles in the Magazine were arbitrary confluents of whatever old material was available: Clough wrote, in March 1836, "Made a poet."

article out of some old stuff". More interesting, because more personal, is a retrospective account written as Clough looked back on a period of intense verse-composition, during which he had been too busy or too ill to keep up his regular journal entries. The account was written in late May, 1835, but refers to April the same year, when Clough had been writing his prize-poem The Close of The Eighteenth

23

Century. Clough's description gives a fascinating insight into the "brooding" process of even his earliest compositions:

Then the verse. How well I remember the night when I sat up till 12 to write out what I had composed that evening. That excitement I shall never forget, it was indeed rich and overpowering excitement - My head throbbed with aching, and my eyes were half sealed up, but I went on - on - on till it was all done. I recollect I resolved once not to touch the '18th' for a week, but after 2 or 3 days were over I persuaded myself all was right and that I was quite justified in setting to again -. Latterly one of my short sunshines occurred, and blessed be God it did occur, for I really think that but for this I should have done myself very serious damage. That writing out so often and continual brooding and poring over one's own writings is bad - bad in the extreme for the health of mind and body. 24

The phrases "writing out so often", and "continual brooding", give additional confirmation that <sup>the</sup> ideas of spontaneous composition expressed in the "Exordium" were Clough's aspirations, rather than his normal experience. In the newly-available light of Clough's journals, with clear evidence of Clough's self-consciousness about revision even at this early stage, it is possible to see traces of re-writing in many of the Rugby poems.

What is particularly interesting about these re-writings is that they show, already, Clough producing ideas and drafts which cannot fit together. His first drafts and his revisions, or his main draft and the variant material, are sometimes expressive of very different intentions.

A very simple example is the autobiographical poem, "I watched them from the window", in which Clough describes looking out at Dr. Arnold's children, and then recalling his own family across the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>25</sup> Dr. Biswas discerns problems in the structure even of the published text: he suggests that the moralising in the final stanza was added on as a revision, to bring the poem "up to the demanding standards of the magazine", and he cites Clough's admission in a letter to his sister Anne, that he had "often looked at" the poem, and had "added on a patch".<sup>26</sup> That same letter, however, contains four additional lines in the metre of the poem, on the same subject of separation from his family:

Those three short years have wrought a change;

Aye that they must I know.

And thou art changed my Sister

Each letter tells me so.

More womanly thy form has grown

More full and strong thy mind.

But not thine heart, oh, no, thou art

27

As thou wert ever - kind.

Clough added, as explanation for the verses, an account of writing the original poem ("last half-year"), which had given him "the habit of be-rhyming" his feelings about his family. These additional stanzas clearly relate to the writing of the full-length poem, but they could only with difficulty be integrated into a text of it, because Clough here addresses in the second person the sister he had previously referred to, distantly, in the third person (e.g. in line 8).<sup>28</sup> The later lines, which Clough explicitly associates with the earlier poem and its revision, cannot be made part of a single text, even though the clash

of tone is slight.

But there are also examples in the Rugby Magazine where Clough's second thoughts entail an apparently complete disownment of his first emotions, rather than a disturbing re-adjustment of tone. One of the standing features of the magazine was a long article, usually a fiction-alised discussion among the contributors, within which was presented a variety of short verse-contributions. Clough himself wrote some of these linking discussions, and his presentation of his own poetry can be disarmingly acute. For instance, the poem on "spontaneous composition" discussed earlier in this chapter is elaborately poetic in its diction and romantic in its attitudes: yet Clough, when he put together the poetry article from "some old stuff", gave it the mocking title "The Exordium of a Very Long Poem", and finished the obviously incomplete work with the prose-editorial comment "The rest is happily wanting".<sup>29</sup> Rather similarly, in the final number of the magazine, Clough contributed a semi-nostalgic poem about the past glories of Rugby School:

In the days when twenty fellows

Drank out of one large mug,

And pewter were the dishes,

And a tin can was the jug; -

In the days when shoes and boots were

Three times a week japanned,

And we sat on stools, not sofas, -

There were giants in the land! ...

'Ere the days of white brick houses,

'Ere the streets were made so clean,

'Ere the chapel was erected

Where bloomed the 'tree of Treen;'  
 'Ere they built the National School-Room  
 Where the horse-pond used to stand,  
 In those days - oh! in those days  
 There were giants in the land!

30

There is plenty of nostalgia in the poem, but it is balanced by the undesirable, the absurd, and the trivial things which are also remembered as characteristic of the school's past (e.g. in stanzas 2 and 6). Clough gave the poem the mocking title "Effusions of a School Patriarch" to reinforce this placing of nostalgia, and when he included it in the magazine, made one character comment upon it, "Never was anything so preposterous".

31

These two examples of a "disowning" presentation of a poem are interestingly different, and already suggest something of the difficulties and advantages which could arise when Clough applied the method in his later work. In the case of "Exordium", the "disowning" presentation is so much at odds with the romantic core-poem, that a reader is tempted to take the poem itself as an elaborate parody: certainly the reader must choose between the poem and the presenter's comment. In the "Effusions", however, the "disowning" presentation serves instead, very effectively, to point up a tension in the poem itself, and to indicate that a reader is right to find the poem semi-ironic as well as semi-nostalgic. This ironic modulation of material is similar to the mock-epic presentation of The Bothie, while the blanket "disownment" of the "Exordium" is closer to the Spirit's rejection of "Easter Day in Naples", one of Clough's most powerfully-felt poems, as "the religious bitter" (in Dipsychus, scene I). Such disowning presentation was to become one of the chief methods by which Clough could deepen a reader's

response to his poetry, by introducing a second perspective on the material.

One of Clough's earliest poems in the Rugby Magazine makes especially interesting use of the method; this is "The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner".<sup>32</sup> The framing disownment here is itself verse, but differs in metre from the central narrative, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that the "presentation" stanzas were written later - they are, for instance, much more assured metrically - though no manuscript or notebook variants survive of this poem to confirm the inference. The core of the poem is a local Rugby legend about a poacher who, returning from his night's work, saw the ghostly apparition of his own funeral, and promptly went home to die.<sup>33</sup> This narrative is presented without any irony, and indeed Clough seems to have aimed at a straightforwardly dramatic interpretation:

Lo, issuing forth tall mourners four,  
 Slow and steady a coffin bore;  
 The falling moonbeams, pale and hoar  
 That coffin's sable covering lit,  
 And a female figure followed it.  
 And he knew them all, as they glided by,  
 And gazed upon them silently.<sup>34</sup>

But the legend is introduced by a playful, debunking, preface of three stanzas, in the style and metre of the ironic Byron, of "Beppo" or Don Juan: the opening invocation is "Reader, (if such blest being shall appear)", and Clough introduces also a very Byronic final couplet to the first stanza:

Mine is a humbler muse, yet do not scorn her,  
 Albeit she sing the tale of 'Dead Man's Corner'.



At the conclusion of the poem, Clough returns to the ironic tone of his opening, but with a difference: instead of the playfulness of Byron, he now turns to a Hood-like black humour.

There on his death-bed the poacher lay,

He felt not kindness, he heeded not force,

And not a single word did he say -

Except to tell the story, of course.

35

The ironic frame and the narrative core of the poem show quite contradictory attitudes towards the legend: the frame shows scepticism, the narrative a rather wide-eyed credulity. Either the tale is a dramatic reality, or it is a melodramatic falsehood. By framing credulity with scepticism, Clough has nicely brought out the contradictions which lie behind educated fascination with unsophisticated beliefs. The move from Byronic irony to the black humour of the ending is surely an indication that Clough intended his satiric frame to complicate, rather than to pre-empt, the reader's direct response to the legend it surrounds. Without the "disowning" frame, the poem would be simple sub-Romantic, small-scale, provincial gothic.

36

These satiric after-thoughts and frames do not, then, always undermine the original poem, so much as modify it and complicate it. There is an element, in Clough's self-satire, of the amateur actor's resort to a "ham" presentation of serious dramatic material, but Clough seems conscious of the effect of such a presentation, not just self-conscious about the original poeticism. Not all Clough's revisions, either, were in this direction, from an unselfconscious "poetic" core to an ironic published version. Some, perhaps half, of his poems in the Rugby Magazine were presented to his readers in a straightforward unironic way - the sub-Wordsworthian poem "Lines", for instance, which relies

on directness of statement to convey an "autobiographical" experience.

In at least one case, Clough's sense of the possible presentations of a particular image worked to produce a change in the opposite direction to those examples previously discussed - his second thoughts changing from playful self-consciousness to a more considered, elegiac re-use of the same imagery: the second version became more purely poetic, rather than less so. In his "Epilogue to the Sonnets", first published in July 1837, Clough used the image of a book of dried flowers to represent the pictures of the Warwickshire countryside gathered in the preceding sonnet sequence (by various contributors): he hoped to

... read them over in an after year;

To us they'll prove, unless our fancy trick us,

38

A very sweet and pleasant Hortus Siccus.

The stanza form, and especially the final couplet-rhyme, give away the ironic playfulness of tone, of this first stanza, which is echoed again in the third one. But framed between them is a second stanza where the emotive qualities of the image are given fuller rein:

A book of Violets, and Cowslips bright,

And golden Butter-cups, from Avon-side,

And Saxifrage, and Hyacinths blue and white,

From Chapel Wood, and Primroses that hide

In Coton shades, and with its eye of light

39

The fair Forget me not, the hedge-bank's pride ...

Even the place-names are, in this stanza, being used without the covert ridicule applied to the Bilton Road or the National School-room in the "Effusions of a School Patriarch".

When, however, Clough returned to Rugby in late August of the same

year, to spend seven last weeks at Arnold's feet before going up to Balliol, he returned again to the same flower-imagery, and to the same local settings. He spent some of this autumn preparing the final pages of the final number of the Rugby Magazine, and seems to have written a great deal of the last twenty pages himself. The final item, "Stanzas", was a 128 line poem, in the same Byronic stanza-form as the "Epilogue". It is introduced by the "Editor", as "the last composition we have to offer to our school-fellows and the Public". Although there is no signature or index-entry to prove that the poem was Clough's own, there are several kinds of circumstantial evidence for accepting it into the canon, and the recent Oxford edition describes it as "convincingly  
40  
attributed" to Clough.

"Stanzas" is essentially an elegiac, and large-scale, rewriting of the "Epilogue to the Sonnets": but it is a rewriting which studiously avoids the playful conceitedness of the original. It is a re-writing of the second stanza only, without any ironic frame. Place-names - Oton among them - are invoked with the same nostalgia as before, and the heart of the poem is a visit to Chapel Wood, in "earliest spring":

... along the glimmering earth

Ten myriad deep-blue hyacinths gracefully

Tossed their soft bells, you must believe, in mirth,

And purple orchises reared oft and high

A tower of speckled blossom, breathing forth

A quiet scent, and when no wind could be,

Bowed down into its green the quiet anemone.

Crowned cowslips, here and there, among the maze,

Rang answering chimes, like neighbour towers that fling,

Responding peals across the banks and braes,  
 At wakes and village feasts: in many a ring,  
 To eye and heart bewildered by the blaze,  
 Soft primroses their calmer influence bring,  
 41  
 Clustered in love ...

This spring scene is framed, for it is viewed in retrospect from autumn, the season of vanishing flowers, and "spinning leaves", but the frame is itself direct, rather than satiric (the inevitability of seasonal change mirrors the need to leave the Rugby countryside). The final stanza sees the magazine ("the record we so lightly string") as a  
 43  
 "memorial rose" to the vanished flowers of schoolboy experience. As Clough has explored the image more deeply, so he has lost the necessity for a satiric or disowning framework to the poem.

The changing of the seasons, used in "Stanzas" only in a simple spring-autumn contrast, was to become one of Clough's recurrent images. It forms the chief image in the longest, and best-documented, chain of poetic re-writing from Clough's Rugby period: indeed, there is bibliographic evidence to suggest that the re-writing of this final example went beyond the Rugby years, into Clough's Balliol crisis-year of 1839-40. The best-known poem of the chain is The Longest Day, usually dated from its first composition in June 1836, and widely-recognised as an important clue to some of the early doubts and fears of the too-successful Rugby  
 44  
 sixth-former. As so often when a poem was of direct personal importance, Clough seems to have returned to this poem several times, seeking for that control of image and tone which would avoid the necessity of ironic disclaimers.

The central image in the poem pre-dates the composition of the first full version. In the April 1836 number of the magazine, Clough

had contributed a dramatic monologue, in his favourite Macaulayan metre of "fourteeners", under the title "The Old Man of Athens". The poem celebrates the martial and cultural achievements of Athens, and then laments the passing of the old heroes, and the possible decline of the culture:

I cannot think that all this light, this beauty shall depart,  
 Thy wisdom and thy poetry, thy science and thine art; ...  
 Yet true, the clearest, longest day, must sink at last in night,  
 And winter ever followeth on the summer tide so bright.  
 Yet poets say that there are climes where time is one long day,  
 And cold and barrenness ne'er drive the summer hours away;  
 And such fair clime I deemed wert thou, my country, ...<sup>45</sup>

In June 1836, Dr. Arnold set to his sixth-form, as a theme for English composition, the topical subject of the longest day, or summer solstice. The first two stanzas of Clough's exercise hymn the longest day as the summit of the year's achievement, the conqueror of winter and the fulfiller of spring's promise. Characteristically, Clough does not then leave alone an image of untempered optimism, but turns to the thought of subsequent decline:

Is it not awful then to think  
     How growth and progress now are o'er,  
 That we are on the mountain's brink,  
     Where we have clomb to climb no more?  
 And is it not a tone of grief  
 That each day now shall be more brief?  
 That strength of limb and might of mind  
 Alike their limit now must find?  
 Is there no echo of decay

To temper thee, thou Longest Day?

The final stanza points to the orthodox conclusion that, though sun and flowers decline into autumn, Goodness and Love continue at their brightest in the eternal heaven, "Longer than the Longest Day".

A copy of the poem, apparently dating from the time of the original exercise, is among Clough's papers and translations, in the Bodleian Library.<sup>47</sup> Some corrections have been made in this manuscript (for instance, in lines 4, 5, 9, and 39), but there are none of the undecided alternative readings found in the later versions, and the manuscript might well have been the exercise-copy itself. It is a very accomplished poem metrically, and it is small wonder that a later master at Rugby could report to Clough's widow, "Dr. Arnold was I believe immensely taken with it at the time. The end is certainly very remarkable for a boy of 18 as he then was".<sup>48</sup>

That Clough was not immediately satisfied with the poem, in spite of the personal importance of such imagery to a boy at the peak of his school career, is suggested by its exclusion from the pages of the Rugby Magazine, even during that last desperate hunt for copy in the summer and autumn of 1837. Perhaps the smugness of the last stanza grated upon a poet who was likely to go up to Oxford before he went up to heaven. Whatever the reason, however, Clough returned to the poem the following spring with a companion-piece. This poem, entitled "The Vernal Equinox", and dated "March 21st" [1837], has only recently been discovered, in the same miscellany of Rugby translations as "The Longest Day".<sup>49</sup> Once again, the inevitability of seasonal change is used as an image for personal development, for growing up. The focus on spring in the first three stanzas seems initially an optimistic metaphor for the way in which, behind the mingled happiness and unhappiness of



adolescence, there lies the hope of steady moral development:

For yon pale, Wintry Sun, e'en now,  
 With darkness holds an equal reign;  
 Though beamless seem his dazzling brow  
 Each day new glory shall he gain ...  
 Till at the last his course he stay  
 50  
 Triumphant at the Longest Day. -

But, again as in "The Longest Day", the fourth stanza marks a switch to a more pessimistic picture, this time by a repudiation of the metaphor's exactness:

Alas, with us it is not so;  
 The fury of that fiercer Storm,  
 Those bitterer blasts that ever blow  
 O'er boyhood's frail and shrinking form -  
 Not sure, alas, the triumph there, -  
 There must be fear, and may, despair;  
 Oft falls it, ne'er to rise again;  
 51  
 No spring, no summer cometh then.

Such a repudiation of metaphor was to accompany many of the blanker, more despairing sections of Clough's mature poems; for instance, the famous image of the battle by night, in The Bothie, is followed by Philip Hewson's statement that he sees no battle at all, only "infinite jumble  
 52  
 and mess and dislocation". Here the repudiation is only partial, however, for the fifth stanza repeats again the smug religiosity of the conclusion to "The Longest Day": the heavenly sun, we are assured, "shines the same through all the year".

The conclusion is strangely at odds with the rather melodramatic fear in the fourth stanza, and this time evidence survives that Clough

himself saw how unsatisfactory it was. The manuscript has a draft for an alternative ending which avoids the worst faults of the first one, by becoming much more personal, almost prayer-like, in its religious language, and by retaining the possibility of failure:

Let Suns with Summer radiance shine

Earth would pour out her leaves and flowers:

And, Lord, on us thy Spirit's Power

Shines forth alive in every hour,

And e'en in Spring-tide's day of dread

The Branch that bears not must be dead.

53

The phrase "Spring-tide's day of dread" neatly defines, and places, the mood of the whole poem, without in any way diminishing the impact of its years of subsequent moral collapse. The extension of the seasonal image to take in the plants which depend on the sun, allows Clough to avoid the Biblical metaphor of the barren vine, and so to avoid both the smugness and the literalness of his original conclusion in unending sun-shine.

54

Even with this revised conclusion, however, Clough himself did not include "The Vernal Equinox" in the Rugby Magazine.

55

The strangest part of the story is still to come. There is evidence to suggest that Clough returned to this poem of adolescent crisis, nearly three years later, while an undergraduate at Balliol, during another important personal crisis.

Some years ago, Professor Wendell V. Harris pointed out certain peculiarities in the production of the only known printed copy of "The Longest Day".

56

The text, for instance, though well-printed, has a "dropped head", beginning half-way down p. [3], while the title-page, which is appallingly produced, is on paper of a much worse quality.

Comparison of the title-page with those of other printed pamphlets in

the collection with which it was bound, shows that it was one of a number of amateur fabrications made, probably at Rugby, as late as 1847-  
57

48. Apparently, an amateur collector "made up" the pamphlet edition of "The Longest Day" by adding a new title-page to an existing printed text. The text itself, of course, could have been printed at any time between 1836 and 1847-48, but the most probable occasion occurs in 1839-40, as a contribution set up in type but never used, for the short-lived magazine The Rugbaean.

There are three main reasons for this dating of the printed text. First, there is some external evidence. Two years after Clough's departure from Rugby, and the final number of his Rugby Magazine, a new generation of Rugby sixthformers essayed their hand at editing, and, like Clough's own group, invited contributions from those who had recently left the school. There is in the Bodleian a letter from one of the new editors, Charles Munro, asking Clough to contribute to the new venture, 58 and Clough himself mentions it in a letter to J.P. Gell, although he indicates 59 that most of the "wise men of the 7th" were refusing to contribute. Clough had, then, the opportunity to get his own poem printed at Rugby in early 1840. Secondly, there is some bibliographical evidence. The text of "The Longest Day" is printed in the type-face and page-size used for verse in The Rugbaean, a size and type different from that 60 of The Rugby Magazine. The Rugbaean used the title of contributions for running-titles to its pages, and "The Longest Day" appears as the running-title to pp.4 and 5 of the text. The "dropped head" on p.[3] (the first page of the text) exactly corresponds to the space occupied by the opening heading on the opening page (again p.[3]) of the first number of The Rugbaean. The bibliographical evidence, therefore, at least suggests that the poem was set up in type to be an opening

contribution to the second number of The Rugbaean, proofed (hence a surviving page-proof used to form the "pamphlet" in 1847-8), and then discarded because the magazine folded after its first issue in March 1840.<sup>61</sup> Thirdly, there is slighter evidence from the manuscript

provenance. A second manuscript of the poem survives which has variant readings much closer to those of the printed text, than to those of the 1836 exercise.<sup>62</sup> This second manuscript came to Clough's widow

from J.C. Shairp, a friend of Clough's for many years, and a master at Rugby from 1846. Shairp, however, did not know Clough until going to Balliol as a Snell Exhibitioner in 1840.<sup>63</sup> Shairp was vague to

Mrs. Clough about the provenance of his manuscript,<sup>64</sup> but it again suggests that Clough's revision of the poem can be connected with 1840.

None of the three types of evidence summarised here - opportunity, printing-style, and Shairp's manuscript - is by itself conclusive, but together they make November 1839-early 1840 the most probable date for the printed text of "The Longest Day", and therefore for its final re-writing. There are several reasons why Clough should have wished to return at that date, or for that occasion, to his schoolboy poem about the mixed hope and fear of early achievement. He may have wished to send a contribution to the new magazine mainly for Dr. Arnold's sake, and have recalled Arnold's praise for this poem on its first composition. The reminder of Rugby and of his own schoolboy achievements may have made him remember the appropriateness of the poem's "message" for the new Rugby sixth-formers, in their longest day at the head of the school. But most important seems to have been the appropriateness of the poem to his own circumstances at this time. Late 1839 seems to have been yet another of Clough's recurrent periods of nervous collapse. At least two recent biographers of Clough have noticed the importance of this

period, as the moral idealism common to Arnoldianism and Tractarianism was subjected to the sceptical questioning of W.G. Ward, Clough's tutor and friend.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Biswas has reinforced this analysis with a series of extracts from the soul-searchings of Clough's Balliol journals.<sup>66</sup>

The fear of collapse, and assertion of hope, expressed in the fourth and fifth stanzas of the poem, were again relevant to Clough's experience, and he seems to have returned to the poem because the words of 1836 already expressed the feelings of 1839.

The two later versions - <sup>the</sup> printed text, and the Shairp manuscript - show that Clough made very detailed revisions. The printed text, for instance, differs from the 1836 version in twenty-four of the poem's fifty lines. But the revisions are not a re-casting of the poem, only a tinkering with individual phrases. For instance, in line 16, "The conquests of that past" becomes "The glories of the past"; in line 17, "winter's snowy shackles" becomes "winter's icy shackles"; and in line 20, "To pause at this the Longest Day" is exchanged for the pretty alliteration of "To linger at the Longest Day". The appearance of neurotic variation is strengthened by the strangest feature of all: in three lines of the printed text, Clough introduces, without any decision between them, alternative readings for individual words (lines 3, 4, and 34).<sup>67</sup>

Clough was not returning to the poem because he had any new perspective upon its subject-matter, but came back to it in spite of continued dissatisfaction with its expression, simply because the main image corresponded to a personal pre-occupation, the fear of collapse.<sup>68</sup>

This final episode in the re-writing of the "Longest Day" provides a very early example of a kind of revision which was often to occur in Clough's later work. The temptation for the textual or even literary critic is always to over-interpret small revisions of phrasing, when

the revisions may add little to the poem, and their real importance lies in their very existence - evidence of a continuing or renewed interest in the subject-matter of the original poem. Editors like poets to be decisive (Professor Mulhauser prefers the clean 1836 manuscript, to the later versions), but Clough's "revisions" throughout his life were often to be experimental and indecisive. Clough's minor revisions of phrasing can indicate the recurrence of old obsessions, rather than the discovery of new perspectives.

A close examination like this of the biographical and textual evidence from Clough's Rugby years shows how very early the composition process began, for him, to include the revision process also. The romantic spontaneity he occasionally apostrophised did not correspond to his actual experience. Particular kinds of rewriting - the expansion of structure, recasting of tone, satirical framing, neurotic tinkering - are foreshadowed in the Rugby poems. The experience of editing poetry for publication in the Rugby Magazine seems to have been especially important in this early development. An early article attributes to Clough, when editor, a dissatisfaction with the incompleteness of many contributions, and a constant search for satisfying "frames" in which to place the "precious works of art".<sup>69</sup> Clough himself in his farewell "stanzas" recalled "kind corrections" as one memory of the magazine.<sup>70</sup> Publishing poetry at so early an age encouraged Clough's natural tendency to self-consciousness, in both the self-betrayal of disowning satirical afterthoughts, and in the more mature self-irony of satirical framing or semi-satiric tone. There are the beginnings of Clough's characteristic strengths, as well as of some of his particular weaknesses, in his Rugby poems; though the material of this early poetry is often derivative, the experience of composition was one Clough had begun to understand



in his own way, a way which included re-interpretation as much as self-expression.

CHAPTER THREE : PRIVACY AND PROVISIONALITY IN CLOUGH'S OXFORD POEMS

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Clough's biographers have always been agreed upon the significance of the poetry Clough wrote during his eleven years in Oxford, but opinions as to its literary value have been much more mixed. There are, of course, a handful of carefully-finished anthology-lyrics which attracted due appreciation from contemporary reviewers; there are, too, many passages or stanzas of poems which seem powerful and exact and good; but taken as a whole the Oxford poems seem uneven and unpolished in style, and they excite one's curiosity ("why did he write that?") quite as often as they excite one's admiration. Dr. Biswas put it strongly, but not unjustly, when he characterised "the bulk of Clough's undergraduate verse" as "chronically inattentive to verbal surface in its single-minded effort to say things".<sup>1</sup> Though Clough progressed technically during his later years in Oxford, as a fellow of Oriel, his best poems are often spoilt for the reader by the sort of clumsiness one expects would be eliminated in revision.

Both the biographical importance and the stylistic unevenness of the Oxford poems begin to be more understandable when one considers the kind of composition in which Clough was then engaged. Though the material has for the most part been available for a quarter of a century, very little critical attention has been paid to the relationship between the successive drafts of Clough's Oxford poems, and the texts we now read. The literary critic, paying due heed to the printed words upon his well-bound page, is naturally disposed to see poetic drafts as merely the early forms of a final version, interesting chiefly when they seem to explain the meaning of the published text. In Clough, however, as perhaps for many poets, drafts are not so much plans for the one final poem,

as sketches indicating all sorts of possible poems, each successively abandoned for another. This is especially marked in the poetry Clough wrote in Oxford, for during his years there, he turned to a much more private, or personal, view of the purpose of poetry, one which found expression in fragments and "possibilities", as often as in finished poems. Many of these "possible poems" have never been looked at in their own right, but even the subsequent "finished" texts can often puzzle the unwary reader, simply because he misses how personal the poem's meaning was.

A simple example of the private, fragment-poetry, of Clough's Oxford years is this eight-line picture which Clough later used as section vi of the Blank Misgivings sequence:

- Like a child

In some strange garden left awhile alone,  
I pace about the pathways of the world,  
Plucking light hopes and joys from every stem,  
With qualms of vague misgiving in my heart  
That payment at the last will be required,  
Payment I cannot make, or guilt incurred,  
And shame to be endured.

This fragment shows just that groping for images which surprises and fascinates one in Clough's Oxford poems. On the face of it, there is a simple absurdity in linking the image of the child in the garden, with the Byronic, "pacing", distracted speaker, and with the adult imagery of unknown debts, or unknown guilt. The link can be explained, at a public level, in terms of religious connotations - an innocent child plucking hopes in the Garden, and intuiting the fall, and the unpayable debt of original sin. At the private level, the "debt" image was much

more literal. The fragment was written in 1841, the year when Clough's father, James Butler Clough, was slipping back into bankruptcy for the second time.<sup>3</sup> Clough was not merely like a child with debts, but at the very time of his final examinations when he was building up hopes for his future, he was literally faced with family debts he could not calculate. The child image may even be a recollection of the first bankruptcy, in 1826, when Clough would only have been seven. The fragmentariness of the poem comes from its very limited, expressive, original purpose, and the apparent inconsistencies of imagery came from the tensions of role which Clough himself was feeling. The poem is startling on a first reading, but its meaning is personal to Clough; it comes out only in the light of biographical information; and its effect is largely unrelated to any formal perfection.<sup>4</sup>

The development of this new kind of poetry in Clough's Oxford years relates directly to developments also in the kind and extent of re-writing during the same period. It was in his years at Balliol that Clough developed that personal, writer-centred view of the process of poetry discussed in chapter 1. To understand the nature and purpose of re-writing in his Oxford poems, one must look at the circumstances, and poetic theories, from which his new personal poetry grew.

During his last two years at school, Clough had been writing poetry fairly regularly for publication in the Rugby Magazine. In November 1837, he wrote an undergraduate essay at Balliol, in which he asserted that "for the perfection of literature Printing is necessary".<sup>5</sup> Yet with the move to Balliol, he more or less ceased publishing his poetry at all. In that same undergraduate essay, he made disparaging reference to the "men of inferior stamp, whom the cheapness of printing has induced to write and publish", and, although in 1838 he allowed three



short lyrics written while still at Rugby to reach print on the initiative of his sister and a friend,<sup>6</sup> he himself published no poetry for nine years after he went up as an undergraduate, and he published no substantial amount of poetry until after he had resigned his fellowship in 1848.

These inhibitions about printing were reinforced by a suspicion that writing poetry might itself be a sinful waste of time. Even at Rugby, Clough had frequently in his journal characterised poetry as a temptation to be resisted.<sup>7</sup> At Balliol, he distrusted his own ambitiousness, and again and again, in his journal, castigated himself for "vain castle-buildings", for "pure self-conceit and love of my own exaltation",<sup>8</sup> and for being "influenced simply by a desire for Praise".<sup>8</sup> Of course, in his first year, he was heavily occupied with academic work, at first for the Ireland and Hertford Scholarships and then for his "Little-go"; but no poetry at all survives from his first year in Oxford, even in the newly-available journals, and the reluctance to write seems to run much deeper, and to come from a fear of the possible affectation and the premature self-commitment of poetry, at the time when he was first confronting the fierce ideological conflicts of Tractarian Oxford.

This fear comes out in his reaction to the gushingly self-revelatory poems of his ex-schoolfellow, Thomas Burbidge.<sup>9</sup> Clough wrote to his Cambridge friend, J.P. Gell, questioning not merely the artistic but the moral value of such writing. "It seems to me", he wrote, "both critically best and morally safest to dramaticize your feelings where they are of private personal character". Perhaps he felt himself to be peculiarly prone to the temptation of factitiousness, for he allowed that "persons less fearful of, or prone to, affectations may I dare say without any harm morally ... write straight de rebus et personis

ipsis", but Clough blamed Burbidge for going beyond this, and "so writing as to expose peculiar circumstances of your own life or conduct or friends etc. etc.". Burbidge, he judged, was "surely quite wrong morally". Clough backed up this moral judgement by a strong sense of the social consequences of poetic self-revelation: "Think of the Rugby gossip".<sup>10</sup>

At the beginning of his second year, however, Clough again took up the writing of poetry, and a major influence in his new attitude towards it was the writing of the Tractarian literary critics. Tractarianism is now thought of primarily in terms of Pusey and Church doctrine, but one of the main attractions of the movement in the eighteen-thirties was its manner, rather than its dogma: the Tractarians advocated a gentlemanly reserve in religious conversation, and condemned the Evangelical practice of "relating experiences".<sup>11</sup> Yet a work published by the same party in 1838, the posthumous Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude, showed that behind the public reserve could be private feelings as intense and complex of those of any Evangelical conversion-narrative: the Remains form one of the most intimate and self-revealing private journals of the early Victorian period, and Clough recommended them to a friend<sup>12</sup> soon after their publication.

Tractarian theorizing about poetry started from this dichotomy between public reserve and private emotion, and thus dealt with Clough's own problem - how to express one's deepest feelings, without falling into affectation. One of the Tractarians, Frederic Rogers, wrote about this in an article of October 1838, which Clough called "very good".<sup>13</sup>

Rogers asked:

How are those who feel they have something within them, to do justice to that something, to give it form and shape, and to plant it in the hearts of others, without setting themselves up as butts for cold ridicule or foolish sentimental interest?<sup>14</sup>



The Tractarian solution to the problem was to characterize true poetry as essentially a private art, possibly to be understood by a few like-minded friends who could see the true meaning and sympathize with the poet, but certainly not to be surrendered to a mass readership. Newman asserted that "the poet's habits of mind lead to contemplation, not to communication"; Hurrell Froude distinguished poetry from mere fiction by claiming that its chief motive was "personal indulgence"; while Keble himself, who was still the Oxford Professor of Poetry in 1838, spoke even more strongly. "We do not give the title of poet", he wrote, "to him who publishes his verse with great acclaim, but rather to him who meditates the Muse at home for his own delectation and  
<sup>15</sup>  
 solace".

It is in Keble's writings that the idea of reserve in poetry is most fully expounded. As early as a review of 1825, he had praised  
<sup>16</sup>  
 Spenser for the "shrinking delicacy" of his poetry. In his inaugural lecture of 1832, he had explained how poetry could serve "the needs of modest reserve, and that becoming shrinking from publicity", because "a troubled and enthusiastic spirit is able to express its wishes by  
<sup>17</sup>  
 those indirect means best known to poets". Then, in the autumn of 1838, Keble expounded his views in English, in that same number of the British Critic in which Rogers's article had appeared. Poetry, he wrote, consisted in "the indirect expression of overpowering but impeded feelings"; impeded, because there is "in almost all minds, an instinctive delicacy which recoils from exposing them openly, as feeling that they never  
<sup>18</sup>  
 can meet with full sympathy". Even the metaphor of "poetry as medicine" for the soul, discussed briefly in chapter 1 above, was turned by the Tractarians to this poet-centred view of poetry, for, while John Stuart Mill had found Wordsworth's poetry to be a medicine for the reader,

Keble saw poetry as a medicine to heal the poet himself.

Such an approach to poetry fitted well Clough's changed situation when he moved to Balliol from Rugby. A personal, private, writer-centred view of writing suited the reserved and rather lonely undergraduate. It was almost immediately after the appearance of the two articles by Rogers and Keble in the British Critic in October 1838, that Clough<sup>20</sup> turned back again to poetry, after his twelve-month abstinence.

In accordance with the Tractarian theorists, he eschewed publication, and wrote for himself, as part of his own self-exploration, only occasionally sharing a poem with a friend in a letter. After the initial fallow period, Clough became almost as prolific a poet at Oxford as he had been at Rugby - indeed if one takes account of the number of revisions, he was more prolific - but his Oxford writing was personal, not public.

Two further aspects of Tractarian poetic theory are of particular interest for readers of Clough. First, Keble had given to metre and to metrical experiment a special value. In his inaugural lecture he had pictured "the leadings of measure and rhythm" as a "labyrinthine ...<sup>21</sup> clue to guide [the poet] amid a thousand paths to the right". In his British Critic article, he had shown metre to be, as well as a psychological aid in composition on difficult subjects, a rhetorical<sup>22</sup> aid "in throwing a kind of veil over ... strong and deep emotions". Clough's lyrics and longer poems alike are notable for the variety of their metrical effects, and the metre can be seen as therapeutic and exploratory, rather than as a technical accomplishment in its own right.

Secondly, all the Tractarian theorists agreed that a poet will express, not a perfect final statement, but a partial and imperfect vision. Rogers, for instance, had written that poetry is "a partial realization of things not seen or proved". The poet, he argued, "has

or is struggling after a solution for nature", leaving "inconsistencies" unanalysed and unexplained. "He is ever presenting different objects under the same light, and the same objects under different lights, changing our position and his own".<sup>23</sup> Keble analysed the inconsistencies of outlook found between different poems of Robert Burns, and concluded that lyric poets in particular embody in their poems "the fluctuating and many varying distractions of the mind", and that only the most sympathetic reader might intuit the unity of personality behind the variety of voice.<sup>24</sup> This second point, too, fitted well with Clough's new Oxford situation, in which the relative certainties of Arnold's Rugby looked so much more problematical, and in which Clough himself found his feelings and responses varying frequently. His first short poem after his year's silence makes a contrast between the true thread of golden truth in life's tapestry, and the discontinuous flashes of truth which we notice:

Truth is a golden thread, seen here and there  
 In small bright specks upon the visible side  
 Of our strange being's party-coloured web.<sup>25</sup>

Clough goes on to reverse the image and to expand upon the continuity which the discontinuous specks represent, but the continuity remains invisible: the moral of the poem is that "we men" ought to pay more heed to the "small bright specks" we do see. This theme is also treated in an entry in Clough's journal in November of the same year:

I feel convinced that we are in darkness - thro' which we see strange shapes, partial revelations of truth - at one time these, at another those - but the whole at once, never. We must not stop to strive and use our eyesight to the darkness, but let it come as we journey on; nor must we deceive ourselves with filling up from fancy the outlines and the fragments we see around. At least, if we do amuse ourselves in this way, we must not act upon the imagined results.<sup>26</sup>

In a curious way, therefore, the "Platonist Aristotelianism" of Tractarian literary theory provided a framework within which Clough could justify his own struggles after fragments of the truth, and a framework also within which his troubled and complex liberal evangelicalism could find poetic expression.

Clough's change of attitude towards the writing of poetry in 1837-39 has required discussion at some length because it was to affect deeply the way in which Clough worked at poetic composition. No doubt the social experience of Oxford was primary in Clough's turn from "public" to private poetry, but the Tractarian critics, with their emphasis on reserve, their idea of metrical composition as therapy, their scorn for publication, and their recognition of the validity of partial visions, articulated for Clough a basis on which he could again start poetic composition.

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The newly-personal orientation of his poetry affected both the extent and the kind of re-writing that Clough undertook. On the one hand, since the poetry was primarily a private exploration, many of Clough's Oxford poems exist only as drafts or sketches, for without the prospect or intention of publication, there was no need for finished texts. Clough's new attitude to poetry reduced, therefore, the need for craftsman-like revision of particular wording or rhythms, at least until he began collecting together his poetry for the Ambarvalia project, in 1847-48. Sometimes, Clough wrote up more stable versions of a poem for his journal, and sometimes he sent a fair copy of a poem in progress in a letter to a friend, but predominantly the Oxford poems existed as

drafts, in a whole series of rough notebooks. Though Clough clearly worked hard over the main lines of the poems, he was very often content to leave alternatives, in wording and in rhythm. His changed attitude to poetry removed all reason for him to "fix" a single text, or even structure, for any of his Oxford poems.

On the other hand, the escape from the need for pre-publication, craftsman-like, "defining", revision of his poems also increased Clough's freedom to re-write and re-think poems, as he thought through again the problems and ideas they embodied. Sometimes, such re-thinking involved writing a new poem on a theme he had earlier treated in a different tone and mood. One obvious example is the series of poems on aspects of religious and domestic duty - "Duty, that's to say complying" (1840), "Thought may well be ever-ranging" (1841), and "The human spirits saw I on a day" (1844, though later revised): with them may be placed a couplet about duty, in Clough's journal entry for May 5 1841, which Professor Mulhauser prints as a separate poem, but which makes more sense as part of a continuing poetic exploration of the problem of "duty" than as a finished "poem".<sup>27</sup> Sometimes, Clough's re-thinking involved returning to a poem sketched out earlier, and re-drafting it in the light of his new experience or changed perspective. One example here might be Clough's very heavy re-writing of the poem, "When panting sighs the bosom fill", of which, as Professor Mulhauser showed in 1945, there were three distinct manuscript versions in 1844, as well as a revision for publication in 1849.<sup>28</sup> Other examples are discussed later in this chapter, but it is worth noting that some such process may well have occurred even in poems for which there is only one draft, with corrections: only where Clough entered intermediate versions in the journals, or sent them in letters, can we distinguish different re-writing



stages with any certainty, but the process itself need not have been limited to the poems about which we have such evidence. It is important that this re-writing should not simply be labelled as "revision", in the normal sense of an author's gradual convergence on an already-implicit "true" poem: the second or third draft or layer of drafting can, in a Clough poem, be just as experimental and provisional as the first draft. In his later Oriel years, when he began to think about publication, Clough seems to have moved to a greater philosophic and textual certainty, but for most of the Oxford period - certainly up to 1846 - his motivation in writing remained exploration rather than definition.

The scale of Clough's re-writing in this period has become much more apparent since the release of Clough's journals. Much of his poetic activity in Oxford was re-thinking previously-used themes or previously-drafted poems. Dr. Biswas has suggested that, with only one important omission, the forty poems Clough contributed to Ambarvalia,<sup>29</sup> "include substantially ... all the shorter poems he wrote at Oxford". This suggests a respectable, though not a large, poetic out-put. Of the forty Ambarvalia poems, however, only five exist in the finished text alone; fifteen of them are in one earlier manuscript, twelve in two manuscripts, seven in three manuscripts (one of them three times recopied after the third stage), while one poem occurs in no less than five manuscript drafts. Each of these drafts can, of course, contain layers of drafting which embody rather differing poetic intentions. In addition to these Ambarvalia poems, published after Clough had left Oxford, there survive from the Oxford years some thirty-seven shorter poems or fragments, and some sixteen verse-translations. Several of these poems, too, exist in multiple manuscript versions. If one takes



Clough's Oxford poetry as a whole, more than a third of the poems exist in two or more manuscript drafts, and such figures cannot take any account of poems which rework an earlier theme without being directly related to an earlier text.<sup>30</sup> In the Rugby poems, there were only traces of re-writing; in the Oxford years, re-writing became a major element in Clough's poetic activity.

This re-writing process can only be presented adequately through the stage-by-stage analysis of particular poems. In the next three sections of this chapter, three examples will be examined in detail, to show the way in which Clough's re-writing was exploratory, rather than perfectionist.

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The first example is a short lyric from 1845, "Ah, what is love, our love, she said".<sup>31</sup> Surprisingly, this has hitherto received very little critical attention, for it contains two of Clough's most "imagistic" metaphors (the "ash" and the "star"), which one might have thought would have been pressed into service by those anxious to demonstrate Clough's modernity, even though the images are set in with much more conventionally poetic language. Because this was one of the poems which were drafted in a notebook, and communicated in letters to Thomas Burbidge at two different stages of the drafting process, it is possible to reconstruct the various ideas of the poem which Clough worked through. The poem, in all its stages is based on a simple four-line stanza pattern, rhyming abab, and the very simplicity of the form seems to have encouraged Clough to further composition.

In the first stage, Clough seems to have conceived of the poem as

a short lyric monologue, in which a woman bewails the evanescence of love. The shape of the poem he sent to Burbidge on 31 August 1845 was, in fact, much the same as that he eventually published in Ambarvalia in 1849, for both consisted of twelve lines built around the pessimistic or "hopeless" image of the fire of love dying down to leave "White ash on blackened earth" as its sole record, and eight lines presenting the rather more ambivalent image of the star of love, whose earthly reflection can be temporarily removed by intervening clouds. It is to be noted that the two most striking phrases in the poem went through all the stages of re-writing without alteration - "White ash on blackened earth" (line 11) and "A star upon a turbid tide" (line 15). It was in the concluding lines that the version Clough first sent to Burbidge differed most widely from the later published text:

Ah love, high love, she said and sighed,

She said, a Poet's love!

A star upon a turbid tide,

Reflected from above.

Above it gleams - it gleams below

Yet clouds will come between

And the stream for garish day forego

The saintly light serene (lines 13-20).

32

Though the extra unstressed syllable in the first foot of line 19 is attractive, the "stream" and "saintly light" both suggest an allegory which is difficult to work out. Would the day-light be garish if clouds were gathering? It is difficult to respond to such allegory with the same intensity evoked by the resonant imagery of the poem's first section. The ending, while maintaining a gloomy outlook about earthly love, seems wilful in its projection of true love into the invisible heavens. It

was to this last stanza that Burbidge raised objection in his reply.

A month and a half later, Clough forwarded to Burbidge some more verses that he called "the sequel to 'Ah What - ?'".<sup>34</sup> This new addition was thirty-two lines in length, and presented an unrelievedly idealistic panegyric on the eternity of married love, bringing to the sorrowing woman of the first version the comfort of "a glorious band of Angel faces": in the notebook draft, from which the letter to Burbidge was copied, there were even two further stanzas of seraphic reassurance, making the sequel twice the length of the original.

The sequel amounts to a complete repudiation of the first version, rejecting both the pessimism of the first section and the ambivalence of the second: the evanescence of earthly love was now wholly overwhelmed by angelic reassurances about the permanence of marriage. There was nothing in the first version as positive, or as sentimental and badly written, as these lines from the continuation:

On roseate clouds around that rise,  
 In radiant colours trimmed,  
 Shone children's undistrustful eyes  
 And parents' tear-bedimmed;  
 And wife and husband, still sustained  
 Amid the shocks of time  
 By love that, changing oft, remained  
 A constancy sublime.<sup>35</sup>

This reversal of argument may have been provoked by Burbidge's criticism of the original ending, or may have been simply the characteristic disownment that was frequently Clough's second stage in the consideration of any idea. It might also have been associated with Clough's visit to the Walrond family at Calder Park, Lanarkshire, in

the autumn of 1845: Clough was there during the celebration of Mr. and Mrs. Walron<sup>d</sup>'s silver wedding.<sup>36</sup> For that occasion, he had written another poem, "The Silver Wedding", which was much more controlled in tone, than the gushing sentiment of this continuation.<sup>37</sup> Clough himself contrasted his treatment of married love in the two poems, in the letter into which he copied both for Burbidge. He expected that Burbidge would prefer the "simplicity" of "The Silver Wedding" to the "definite positivity" of the sequel to "Ah, what is love".<sup>38</sup> Clough, however, did not even get to the end of this letter without the beginnings of doubtfulness about the sequel he had just copied out. "I am not sure", he commented, "that the thing ought not to have an ending managed otherwise", and then went on, in the same letter which contained the "sequel", to produce yet another alternative ending, one which was both less overtly religious in language, and much crisper in form.

This new sequel consisted of three stanzas only, which may have been intended to replace the whole of the second section of the original poem (ie. lines 13-20), or, more probably, to replace the last stanza only (lines 17-20), as it more or less duplicates those lines. This would have made a twenty-eight line poem, in two sections of twelve and sixteen lines. The alternative sequel pruned away all reference to angels or seraphs, relying instead on vaguer reference to "voices musically mild" coming from "far above". The star-cloud image from the original lines 13-20 was complicated by light now appearing in the woman's eyes, not simply on the turbid tide, and by a gentler reference to "haze" rather than "cloud". The effect of these changes was to restore to the conclusion something of its original ambivalence.

The last stanza itself, however, was still causing Clough trouble. It was at this stage that he re-drafted it to cut out the awkward non-

allegory of the "stream" in line 19 and, replacing the rhymeword of that line ("fore-go") with "outglare", was forced to alter line 17 as well.

Here, at first, he changed the antitheses for the star and its reflection from "above" and "below", to "here" and "there", which made the whole reflection image much more difficult to follow than in the previous version. Then, in the letter to Burbidge, he indicated an alternative rewriting of the lines which was more satisfactory:

So bright below, above so pure

But clouds will intervene

And garish earthly noon obscure

The saintly light serene. 39

The alternative sequel seems, as here revised, to make an interesting and well-structured poem. Yet if it were not for the preservation of the letters to Burbidge we should never have known about it, for Clough did not copy the three-stanza alternative conclusion into his own notebook. He was not, of course, collating material for a definitive edition of his own works, but nevertheless it seems revealingly casual. Neither in the notebook, nor in his letter, did Clough indicate any "final" decision about which, if either, continuation of the poem he himself preferred, and he did not even keep a record of the experimental, third, draft-ending, let alone of its alternative wording.

Instead, some three weeks later, Clough wrote another poem - at least, a poem always printed separately from the first - in which he worked over the impossibility of the original idea. This was "Oh, ask not what is love, she said", which echoes the opening line of the first poem, and follows also its metre. It was apparently first drafted in a letter to Burbidge of November 2 1845, and then copied into the notebook, for the letter gives initially only three stanzas, and adds the

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final two after further general news. As Clough wrote to Burbidge: "I thought I had done before I had, and so filled up the vacant space with L'Envoi in Prose: but to these came 2 more stanzas".<sup>41</sup> This second poem differs from all the drafts of the first one, in changing the focus of attention from the woman, mourning a dead love, to a first-person male I-voice, who is extracting a silent response to his own vow of love. It is a dramatized situation, and is only saved from sentimentality by the reluctance of the woman to make any open reply to the man's declaration. Clough has returned to his earlier theme, but has approached it through a dramatic rather than a symbolic indirectness: there is no "imagery" in the new poem at all. The poetic strategy in the two poems is therefore rather different, but they clearly form part of a single process or sequence of "thinking-through-poetry".

This account has charted some of Clough's changes of ideas during that process, but such changes had little or no influence on the texts Clough finally decided to print. For this poem, the process of composition and the "editorial" preparation of a text for publication were unusually separate. For his Ambarvalia selection, made in 1847-48, Clough drew particularly on poems, like this one, which had been worked over in correspondence with his co-author Burbidge, who contributed more than half the joint-volume. Clough included in his own sixty-four page section both "Ah, what is love", and "Oh, ask not what is love", and he brought out the parallel between them by cutting the first poem back to its original twenty lines, the same length as the second poem. Two whole revision-stages were simply dropped as unusable (though he drew on the revisions for details of phrasing in lines 17-20), and Clough discarded much of the ambivalence of the last stanza, making love, at least in heaven, eternal. Even the awkwardness of "here" and



"there" (in line 17) was retained, though Clough had drafted acceptable and clearer alternative phrasing at an earlier stage, in the letter of October 19 1845. The exploration, the tentativeness, even some of the incidental polish, of the redraftings, had all given way to the new need for a fixed and definite text.

Ironically, the two poems, written as a sequence but appearing separately in Ambarvalia, have never, since that publication, been linked together by reviewers or critics. The only contemporary review to mention either of them was in The Guardian, and that took the star image from the first poem, by itself, as an example of a "beautiful and original" metaphor.<sup>42</sup>

Professor Houghton treated only the fire image from the same poem, before pronouncing it an uneven success, and Dr. Biswas has taken the same lines to demonstrate that the poem was a prettified failure.<sup>43</sup> The poem was, of course, both uneven and prettified, but the dramatic character of the poems comes out much more strongly if they are seen as a pair, one of which rewrites and answers the other, then if they are seen as single separate works. In his annotated proof-copy of Ambarvalia, Clough added the title "Flet Noctem" to the first poem, emphasising the dramatic situation,<sup>44</sup> but since he did not propose to include either poem in the American edition planned in 1858-59, there is no way of knowing his later wishes about the form of the poems, or the relationship between them.

Clough's rejection of the rather gushing "angelic" sequel to "Ah, what is love" has its parallels in his rejection of other re-draftings among his Oxford poems. In "When panting sighs the bosom fill", for instance, the long second version added to the first a very sympathetic treatment of earthly love, which formed a counter-point in argument to the longing for heavenly love which formed the bulk of the

poem.<sup>45</sup> As Professor Mulhauser has pointed out, "almost no traces of this version of the poem survived into the fourth (published) version",<sup>46</sup> even though the second version was clearly a development of the first. Similarly, in the notebook and letter versions of "Sweet streamlet basin", Clough drafted a sixteen-line continuation of the poem which interprets and then replies to the desire for rest and annihilation imaged in the first section and its picture of the river-pool:<sup>47</sup> but in the 1849 Ambarvalia version and subsequent published texts, the continuation<sup>48</sup> was discarded, leaving the original lotos-eating unanswered. This pattern of re-writing, which involves the drafting of continuations and then the rejection of some of them, may be described as "divergent" re-writing, by contrast with the gradual "convergence" of some poets upon a more and more stable conception of their poem.

A study of the history of composition of this first example poses questions about the integrity of the text (whether there are two poems or one), and about the carefulness of the "editorial" revisions Clough made for the Ambarvalia publication. A critical interest in finished stable texts can hardly do justice to the shifting, fluid, serial writing and re-writing of these lyrics. The process of re-writing seems to represent the 'reality' of the poems better than the texts Clough published in 1849.

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The second example for detailed study shows a much more linear pattern of re-writing, with the gradual addition of extra stanzas, and additional turns in the argument. There is still at least one "rejected" stage of the composition, but in this case the composition

process relates much more directly to the published text, and highlights the relation between separate stages of writing, and that telescoping into one argument which finally appeared in print. The poem is the lyric beginning "Why should I say I see the things I see not", subsequently entitled by Mrs. Clough and J.A. Symonds, "The Music of the World and of the Soul", for the collected edition of 1869.<sup>49</sup> It has been accorded very widely differing evaluations by modern critics: on the one hand, Barbara Hardy has judged it "one of the most moving and powerful examples of integral lyric argument" in the Ambarvalia volume, while, on the other, Robin Biswas has characterised it as "flabby", "spurious", "truculent", and "complacent".<sup>50</sup> The textual evolution of the poem to some degree explains why the poem can provoke such very different reactions.

The basic image of the poem, from which the other sections were developed, is stated in section one of the published text. It is an analogy between the difficulty of outward conformity to social or religious patterns in which one no longer believes, and the difficulty which a man would feel who is in the middle of an old-fashioned long dance, yet who cannot hear the music which will coordinate all the complicated patterns of movement. It is an image which goes back long before Clough's poem. Both the metrical variety of the first section, and the music metaphor for religious belief, echo George Herbert, and in Herbert's Outlandish Proverbs, the image is at least suggested: "He that lives in hope, dances without music".<sup>51</sup> A stray reference in J.H. Newman's novel Loss and Gain (1848) indicates both that the image was an available common-place among the Oxford Tractarians of the eighteen-forties, and that it was used in one of Maria Edgeworth's novels. Two Oxford undergraduates are discussing the usefulness or otherwise of religious images

in churches and public places, and one of them accuses the other of being against all the external forms of religion:

"You are like the man in one of Maria Edgeworth's novels who shut his ears to the music that he might laugh at the dancers". "What is the music to which I close my ears?" asked Sheffield. "To the meaning of those various acts," answered Charles; "the pious feeling which accompanies the sight of the image is the music". "To those who have the pious feeling, certainly", said Sheffield; "but to put up images in England in order to create feeling is like dancing to create music". 52

The "availability" of the image among the Tractarians is further evidenced by two references from their periodical, the British Critic. John Keble, in his article of October 1838 already referred to, had used the image for the relationship between metre and self-revelation in poetry: because the strong emotions of poetry were expressed in verse, people are enabled

to say things which they could not venture on in prose, much in the same way as the musical accompaniment gives meaning to the gestures of the dance, and hinders them from appearing to the bystanders merely fantastic. 53

Recently, Mr. P.S. McGrane has drawn attention to a slightly later example of the image being used in a religious context. In a review of 1842, an anonymous writer had suggested that to look at church history without looking for the development of church doctrine was

like a person looking on a group of dancers, while his ears are carefully closed against the music; the scene presents to him no higher idea than a disjointed series of irregular, unmeaning, fantastic movements; and this, because he is not conscious of the inspiring strain which gives life, harmony, and reality to the whole scene. 54

Thus, within the Oxford culture of Clough's day, the metaphor of "dancing without music" was current, and had been applied both to religious conformity, and to the apparent strangeness of poetic self-revelations.

The first draft related to Clough's poem uses the metaphor to make

a contrast between a child's belief, as he hears the heavenly music, and the grown man's increasing deafness to the coarse earthly music to which his contemporaries are dancing. It is our own childish beliefs which prevent us subsequently accepting the platitudes of adult morality - we are "most beliefless, that had most believed".<sup>55</sup> The draft occurs in a notebook used during Clough's Scottish walking-tour of autumn 1845, and has now printed by Professor Mulhauser in his 1974 revised edition:

<sup>then</sup>  
 Can it~~/~~be that having heard before  
 That music sweet which now I hear no more  
 Deaf am I made to this the coarse and loud  
 Whereunto dance the dancing crowd.  
 So is it oft perchance with tender child  
 So with the man mature but rarely can it be  
 His music findeth he  
 In passions fierce and wild  
 In love with lust defiled  
 Ambition keen & hot & conflict stern and rude  
 This strange abstracted mood  
 Can scarce be born of childish tender  
 Could not a mere self-will [the] spurious same engender.<sup>56</sup>

On the draft, Clough has written in alternative wording for lines 5 and 6, and lines 12 and 13 are heavily redrafted and appear incomplete, both metrically and grammatically. The concluding question, about the source of adult music, makes a similar kind of questioning of the metaphor to that which concludes section one of the published poem. Clough himself seems to have abandoned this version without finally deciding on the readings he preferred.



Instead of polishing up the first draft, when he returned to the subject, some two years later, he started again with a new drafting, and this seems to have been made in several different stages. The drafting was done in the 1847 Notebook, and may date from that year, or perhaps the previous one. The first section of the poem to be written was the one that re-wrote the early draft quoted above, yet even here Clough made a false start, in an inappropriately high style:

Why shod I say I see the things I see not

Others of life and confidence replete

May love, admire, adore, believe, rejoice

57

Leaving a brief gap, but not cancelling the lines already drafted, Clough began again, with a first line that suggested a hope for new belief in the future, before going into the opening he subsequently published:

Why say I see the things that yet I see not,

Why seem to be and be not

Show love for that I love not, and fear for what I fear not

And dance about to Music that I hear not.

58

It is perhaps sufficiently obvious here that the two openings are alternative and not consecutive, and Clough's subsequent conflation of the two for the published text, taking line 1 from the first version, and lines 2-4 from the second (with one deletion in line 2), confirms this. Still, it is revealing as an example of the difficulty that can arise in the Clough notebooks, when two stanzas of a poem are similar but not identical, and an editor is forced to decide whether both were conceived as part of a single text of the poem, or whether the second replaces the first.

The new drafting continues with a comically-distanced view of the unbeliever standing still among the dancers:



Who standeth still i' the street will get, and not unfairly  
 Hustled and jostled rarely  
 And whoso stops i' the dance shall tread on his neighbour's  
 toes,  
 And maybe fall on his nose  
 Perchance 'tis but an humming in mine ear  
 59  
 That yet anon shall hear.

This laconic version was, unlike the opening, completely cancelled, and Clough started again to redraft it on the facing verso page, otherwise left blank. (It was his frequent practice to draft poems on recto pages only, leaving the verso pages for redrafting.) The redrafting discarded the comedy of falling "on his nose", and introduced the problem of the helpless partner (lines 10-11 of the published text), but even within this redrafting Clough continued to experiment. He introduced a late insertion in a new line, prefiguring line 8 of the final version: the man who stops in the dance "shall be elbowed and shouldered by all he shall meet". At first, also, he had redrafted the third line of this passage to make the unwilling dancer be "spurned by the dancers' feet" (as in the published version), but in the notebook draft, he altered this to a version which shows the non-dancer as the aggressor, and which is closer to the original phrasing: he would "tread on the dancers' feet". (This is yet another example of Clough's preferring his "first" thoughts to his revisions when preparing the Ambarvalia texts.) Lines 14-28 follow on the next page of the notebook, with lines 14-15 and 19-20 as late insertions in the drafting process. The final questioning of the metaphor itself (in lines 27-28: "What if all along the music is not sounding") is a maturer example of the kind of repudiation of a central metaphor found in such Rugby poems as "The Vernal Equinox", and

discussed in chapter II above. Although it involved a false start, and some re-working, of tone and rhythm, the complicated first section of the poem, seems to have been created in a single composition stage. It makes a coherent and resonant re-working of the Tractarian music/dancing image, which conveys much of the complexity of Clough's feelings about religious conformity in the mid-eighteen-forties. The late insertion of the word "soul" for the reluctant dancer (lines 14, 23 draft: lines 14, 24 published text) emphasises the religious symbolism of the poem.

However, as the list of conformist activities in Clough's cancelled opening made clear, religious conformity was not the only kind of "settling for the second best" which worried Clough at this time: it was not merely "believing" that was being repudiated there. In the next section of the poem to be drafted, Clough moved the debate on from the contrast between true and merely conventional religious behaviour, to a contrast between true and derivative poetical composition, seeing even conventional poets as "acolytes" and echoes of the true heavenly music. (Perhaps he recalled Keble's application of the metaphor to poetry in the British Critic article.) He made the transition by finding some kind of poetic equivalent to dancing in the annual ceremonies of the Ambarvalia in ancient Rome, where the "Ambarvalian brothers nine" beat the bounds of the city "with hymns and sacred song", a kind of ritual invocation of the creative powers of the earth. Clough then drew his modern parallel:

Even so Poets now

With more than priestly vow

Made separate from their birth

Walk [thro] the great world and [take] mete the measures of the

Earth

And following on their feet

Their acolytes withal

Who catching notes that haply fall

[That catch the notes that haply fall]

From the great prophetic song

Tell them out loudly to the listening throng

And echoing notes from them that fall

60

Their humble acolytes withal

This extension of the image, from religion to poetry, also leads the argument of the poem on a stage further, for it suggests why "earthly music" is unsatisfying, being only the re-echoing of the true prophetic song, itself only an echo of the "measures of the Earth". The stanzas have come under sharp criticism from Dr. Biswas, who comments that "the insistent Victorian urge to strike prophetic attitudes, to see visions and hear voices in poetry, could hardly be more clear".<sup>61</sup> The lines are much more poetical than in the first section, but the distance put between the "listening throng" and the true heavenly music seems so great, and the reechoings so many, that the stanza seems, not so much to propound, as to question, the Victorian (or Shelleyan?) sense of the poet as prophet. What is being accorded the "poetic" treatment here is the ritual of poetry, and towards ritual we have already been taught a certain scepticism in the first stanza. The weakness of this section seems to lie much more in its allusiveness: like other academics' who turn to versifying, Clough's allusions can mystify rather than illuminate, for most modern readers. The section also had changed the basic meaning of the poem, tending to limit it by the concentration on poetry, and it was perhaps because this then made the subsequent sections less clear that Clough eventually discarded the two stanzas about poetry, when he

put together the Ambarvalia text, even though he left them uncanceled in the notebook. It is a chastening thought that a modern textual editor would print a text which included this branch-line of the poem's development in its main sequence, if he had only the notebook text to work from.

However, although the "poetry" section represented a line of development which Clough later discarded, it did provide a necessary stage in the transition from the first section of the poem (the dancing metaphor) to the second (the metaphor of the two musics). As we have seen, this was adumbrated in the opening of the first (1845) draft version, but the contrast between earthly and heavenly music had been worked out much more fully in a rather different context, in <sup>a</sup>poem one year earlier. In the discarded second section of "When panting sighs the bosom fill", Clough had given nearly thirty lines to the contrast between ideal, heavenly love, and actual earthly encounter, expressed in the image of the two musics: human affection is

not the hymn of heavenly love.

Itself 'tis but the vulgar tune  
Which all that breathe beneath the moon  
So accurately learn, so soon.  
With variations duly blent  
Yet that same song to all intent  
Set for a finer instrument.

The two tunes, Clough goes on to suggest, are normally heard mixed together, so that the heavenly music is difficult to distinguish:

Yet may their tunes together sound  
The heavenly in the Earthly drowned,  
And this one ceasing, that be found.

Only amid the vulgar din  
 If heavenly tones be mingling in  
 Conviction clear is hard to win,  
 Though singly sounding so diverse ...  
 Yea, and if hope survive, that here  
 Those tones shall greet our mortal ear  
 Each humbler tune with jealous fear  
 62  
 We test.

Even though these lines were part of a different composition sequence, and could not be put into a formal textual-critical apparatus, they seem to provide the pre-history of the next stage of "Why should I say I see the things I see not". The contrast here is analogous to that which Clough had made in the "poetry" section of the poem, between the true poetic measures and the acolytes' re-echoings, and it would therefore be the section of the poem which Clough discarded that turned his attention back to his earlier music metaphor, the two musics of love. One might note here also that "When panting sighs" contains small signs that even there, the metaphor was seen as applying not just to love, but to the perennial tension between the ideal and the actual. Words like "conviction", "heavenly" and "earthly" inevitably carry religious connotations, while in the third version of that poem the essential dichotomy of the later one is clearly stated in generalisable terms:

Is Perfect in the Imperfect found?  
 63  
 The Heavenly on the Earthly ground?

It was a theme that was to run through much of Clough's mature poetry, and the next section of "Why should I say I see the things I see not" took up this conflict between the earthly and the heavenly, and the image of the two musics, in its opening distinction between the

two musics heard by men, one "loud and bold and coarse", and the other "soft and low" and heard only intermittently. The section consisted of what were to become lines 29-47 of the published text, and was drafted on a separate page from the immediately preceding "poetry" section, suggesting that the poem was actually built up into the debate form stage by stage, rather than being conceived as an uninterrupted sequence of argument. The section was published substantially as drafted, except that on the facing page (blank) Clough inserted two extra lines for the conclusion, to follow lines 44 and 45 respectively. These "second thoughts", like so many of his others, Clough did not finally use, but they reveal his intention to emphasize lyricism and rhyme in this, very idealistic, section, in contrast with the more angular rhythms of the opening section of doubt. The amplified conclusion would have read like this:

Yet turn to other none -

Yet others none your ears allow

Turn not, oh turn not thou

Nor thou, nor thou, nor thou!

But listen, listen, listen - if haply hear ye may

Listen, listen, listen, - is it not sounding now?

The draft in the 1847 Notebook ends at this point, consisting of three sections only, each beginning on a fresh page. It shows a familiar pattern of development for a Clough lyric, in which a complex and questioning metaphor is "answered" by a conclusion of lyrical hope and belief. It was presumably this version that Matthew Arnold saw in December 1847, when he was advising Clough about which poems to chose for the Ambarvalia volume: he commented in a letter that "as a metrical curiosity the one about 2 musics does not seem to me happy",<sup>64</sup> and the



phrase seems specifically to refer to the third stanza.

For the Ambarvalia volume, however, Clough made the decision to simplify the line of argument, by cutting out the middle section of his draft, which had compared poets to the ancient Ambarvalian priests. The music therefore returns to a single rather than a multiple symbolic reference, the transcendent religious ideal. The deletion is perhaps one reason why the opening of the second section now seems to follow rather abruptly from the tentative doubt which concludes the first part, a transition which provokes Dr. Biswas to criticism.<sup>65</sup> To these two sections, Clough added a third, which is not in the notebook draft (lines 48-59), and which modified the rather hectoring exhortations to belief which concluded section two. The new section was an appeal to experience, invoking the idea of memory as an analogous example of the reality of the unseen world. The "magic screen" is not, as some commentators have assumed, an early and Eliot-like reference to the projection of pictures, but a mysterious dividing screen between the soul and its surroundings. Lines 52-53, with their reference to the nerves of the eye, perhaps show the influence of the anatomical studies Clough had undertaken in 1847, when he had considered transferring to a (lay) medical fellowship.<sup>66</sup> But it is the sparse plain language of the new conclusion that contrasts most strongly with the earlier lyrical allegory:

So the bare conscience of the better thing

Unfelt, unseen, unimaged, all unknown,

May fix the entranced soul 'mid multitudes alone.<sup>67</sup>

Unlike the previous conclusion, in section two, this new one gets its power not from changing to the different mode of poetic belief, but by juxtaposing the experienced truth of the ideal against a very bleak, and negative, actuality, which becomes almost prosaic in the jerky

republications of the second to last line. This published text, with the new "third" section, carries through into the conclusion the sceptical tensions in which the poem had its origin. As Denis Donoghue has written about this last stanza, "it is clear that while Clough mediates between the two musics, he acknowledges the experience of both ... it is part of Clough's moral sense, a mode of his scruple, that he allows both musics their freedom".<sup>68</sup> The new ending was more scrupulous about recording the full tensions of Clough's experience, for both the doubting and the hope were elements in his Oxford development. The published text, involving the abrupt transition between juxtaposed contrasting moods (and juxtaposed contrasting separate drafts), imaged the interplay of attitudes which he knew to be real. It is this published version which has attracted strong praise and sensitive exposition from such critics as Donoghue and Barbara Hardy.<sup>69</sup>

Clough himself did not republish the poem after 1849, nor is it included in the lists of poems he sent to C.E. Norton in 1858-59 for the American edition.<sup>70</sup> He did, however, go on utilizing the image of the dance in his subsequent poems: it occurs, for instance, as a running image in The Bothie, and in Amours de Voyage,<sup>71</sup> and there is a striking passage about adolescent reluctance to join the dance in one of the Mari Magno tales: only when it is too late does the narrator feel the impulse to join in.

The music moving in my brain  
 I felt; in the gay crowd again  
 Half felt, half saw the girlish bands,  
 On their white skirts their white-gloved hands,  
 Advance, retreat, and yet advance,  
 And mingle in the mingling dance.

The impulse had arrived at last,  
 72  
 When the opportunity was past.

In these instances, of course, the dance image relates primarily to conforming with the social patterns of courtship and marriage. In a poem of 1851, though, he used the image without this restriction, in a way that can be generalised to cover all the socially-transmitted enthusiasms of love and politics and religion, when he warned the younger dancers:

Once gone your prime cannot renew;  
 You too, like us, at last shall stand  
 To watch and not to join the band ...  
 73  
 Dance on, dance on, 'tis joy to see.

Thus, while the main line of textual development ends with the text published in Ambarvalia, the experience of writing and re-writing the original poem remained an element in Clough's poetic consciousness, influencing, and re-appearing in, later works.

In view of the carefully-balanced sequence of debate in the text Clough himself published, it is especially unfortunate that after his death Mrs. Clough decided to include her own cut-down version of the poem in the posthumous edition of 1862. Though the prefatory memoir to that edition claimed that the Ambarvalia poems were "reprinted with omissions marked by the author",  
 74  
 there is no indication in Clough's marked copies that he intended any omissions from this poem. Mrs. Clough, by printing only sections 2 and 3 (lines 29-59) made nonsense of the balance of the poem, plunging the reader into the second section of a debate, the first part of which he cannot infer. Indeed, the layout in the 1862 edition would lead the unwary reader to see the question, "Are there not, then, two musics ... ?", as a response to the preceding

poem, which was Clough's attack on the pressures to conform in family life.<sup>75</sup> Not till 1869 was the first section restored, when the non-authorial title was added, referring the two musics to "the world and the soul". The imagery of the poem is difficult anyway, because the resonances are so personal to Clough, but the opaque mystery it becomes in Mrs. Clough's text shows how much the power of Clough's own version rested on the careful building up of the argument, recapitulating his own writing process, rather than resting on the force of the individual sections.

As with the first example, this second example is typical of others of Clough's poems. Its origin in the rethinking and questioning of currently-available religious imagery is paralleled by the short poem on D.F. Strauss's Biblical criticism, "Epi-Strauss-ion".<sup>76</sup> In that, Clough reworked the image of stained glass windows as a metaphor for Christian belief-through-symbolism, an image which had earlier been used both by George Herbert in his poem "The Windows", and by Thomas Carlyle in Past and Present.<sup>77</sup> Professor Veyriras has also pointed out that the image occurs in one of Goethe's poems, "Songs", and that it was used with specific application to the new German criticism, in an article in the Prospective Review in 1846.<sup>78</sup> This last reference establishes Clough's poem as the personal working-out of a current debate, rather than a new and original inspiration, but it has not, I think, previously been noted that<sup>at</sup> the time when Clough was writing it, the symbolism and religious utility of stained-glass windows was a topic of heated debate in Oxford, centring on some new windows designed by Pugin for the University Church (of which Clough's own College was the patron).<sup>79</sup> In "Epi-Strauss-ion", as in "Why should I say", Clough inserts the counterpoise of the more lyrical lines (lines 3-6) after

the first draft sequence, and then switches midway through the poem, from a negative to a mutedly-positive reworking of the image.<sup>80</sup> Similarly too, while he did not go on rewriting the original poem, he did reuse its central image in a later work, as the famous concluding stanza of his lyric of hope, "Say not the struggle nought availeth".<sup>81</sup>

This detailed examination of a second example of Clough's process of composition has shown, like the first one, the creation of divergent patterns of development during the drafting, with the discarded "poetry" section coming to be seen as an unassimilable second step in the argument. However, the second and third steps which were eventually included in the final texts also show substantial shifts in the perspective of argument from that in the first section. The example shows how much the strength of some of Clough's best lyrics comes from the closeness with which they recreate the fluctuation, and the re-thinking, which had been Clough's own experience in struggling with the initial datum of the dancing metaphor. In a poem like this, the final text is successful, because it conveys to the reader, not a final settled perspective, but much of the very process of Clough's thinking.

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The third example has been chosen to demonstrate more fully the close relationship between the variable intentions of Clough's first composition of its sections, and the kind of "editorial" structure which he developed for it when preparing the poem for publication. It suggests that Clough himself was aware that his poetic strength came, at least in part, from his preservation in the final text of the multiplicity of tone and viewpoint found in the earlier drafts. The example



is the sequence, "Blank Misgivings of a creature moving about in worlds not realised", and the "editorial" form of the poem on which I chiefly focus is the ten-section version, published in Ambarvalia in 1849.<sup>82</sup>

The free form of the poem (or rather, its oscillation between strict and free forms), and its fragmentary nature, have attracted criticism since its first publication. One early critic, John Conington, did not even seem to realise that the individual sections made up a single larger poem. Among more recent critics, W.E. Houghton has criticised the unevenness of the style, and Robin Biswas has variously described the work as "Byronic attitudinizing", an outburst of "spiritual spasms", and the product of Clough's "worst excesses" of subjectivism.<sup>83</sup> These adverse judgements stem, of course, from the critics' hope of finding a unity, of tone and sequence, in the poem. Clough, in "editing" it, seems to have been aiming, not so much at a logical, as a psychological sequence, and in furtherance of this aim deliberately included the shifts of tone and attitude which were part of his thought-experience, but to which critics have objected. Even though the published sequence does not correspond to the order in which the sections were first composed, it does attempt to recreate the same multiplicity of thoughts and second thoughts.

The sections from which Clough built the poem were first drafted at various dates between November 1840 and July 1842. They span, therefore, the period running up to Clough's (postponed) final examinations (in May 1841); the fear of his father's bankruptcy and its fulfilment (in June 1841); his own relative failure in the Schools and in the competition for a Balliol fellowship (November 1841); his subsequent election to the fellowship at Oriel (April 1842); and the sudden death of his mentor Dr. Arnold in June of that year. The close relation between the bank-



ruptcy and section VI of the poem ("Like a child") has already been discussed earlier in this chapter, and is representative of the personal origin of these verses. The sections occur in three different early sources, which allow some cross-checking of the dates of composition - in Clough's own journals, on loose sheets and in letters to J.P. Gell and Thomas Burbidge, and then in fair copies, with other poems, in the 1839-42 Notebook.<sup>84</sup> The group does not seem originally to have been conceived as having any special unity, other than that which all the writings of a single mind share, and that which springs from Clough's continual return during these months to the same themes of guilt and shame and fear. It is notable that at least three other poems, subsequently to be included in Ambarvalia as separate pieces, were at one time<sup>85</sup> considered for inclusion in the "Blank Misgivings" sequence.

The composition of the poem began, not with the religiously-oriented penitence of the published opening, but with sheer despair. The earliest section to be composed was the sonnet "O kind protecting Darkness" (later number VIII), which was entered in Clough's journal for November 17 1840, and copied into a letter to Burbidge of November 22<sup>86</sup> : coming, as it did, soon after Clough's postponement of his examinations, there is a special poignancy to the fear he expresses of the "angry claimants or expectants sure / Of that I promised and may not perform". Another sonnet may follow next, around his birthday in January 1841, but the next dateable poem was written in the first weeks of February. He wrote to Burbidge that he had had a "visit from the Muse which lasted with intervals for 3 days and produced 70!! verses".<sup>87</sup> These were the freely-rhymed octosyllabics beginning "Once more the wonted road I tread", which were to be used as section IX. This long section was not, however, composed in the order we now read: the germ of the section seems to

have been the more abstract and self-critical passages (lines 22-44), to which Clough then added a specific landscape location as an opening (lines 14-21, and lines 1-13). The religious aspirations of the second part (lines 43-77) were originally drafted on a separate sheet, and were not sent to Clough's "poetic" correspondent Burbidge, but only to his religious confidant Gell. Clough himself even suspected the concluding exhortations of having "something of affectation in them ... but on the whole," he wrote to Gell, "I venture to believe them fairly truthful".<sup>88</sup>

It is notable, therefore, that the switches in tone and argument within this section (itself fragmentary in a poem of fragments), relate to the order in which the "paragraphs" were drafted. Section "IX" was linked to section "VIII" neither in form nor tone, but only as the differing products of a single phase of Clough's life.

The next group of sections to be composed, by contrast, were all within a single strict form, the sonnet, and follow more or less consecutively from one another. These were sections I-IV, the first of which may date from January, but which had all been written by mid-April 1841: sections II-IV seem to have been composed during a short visit to London

at that time.<sup>89</sup> The first of the group echoes not only Milton's famous sonnet on his "three-and-twentieth year", but also Clough's own earlier

birthday sonnet of the previous year, "Here have I been these one and twenty years".<sup>90</sup> The primary theme of this group is a sense of sin and of failure, and the image of "kind maternal Darkness" is repeated from section VIII, in III, 11 : the tone, however, has changed becoming much more balanced and even. Clough's preoccupation with money also surfaces again, in the phrases "My painful earnings, lost, all lost" (II, 5), and "every look commits me to fresh debt" (III, 6), and his precarious situation gives a special resonance to the thought that

"food ... may be clean-denied me e'en today" (IV, 4-5), although the "food" is clearly metaphorical, of false intellectual and spiritual sustenance. The image-sequence in these sonnets is that of successive fragments, rather than of a single poem: there is, for instance, no formal transition from the image of the speaker as rudderless, "on the mid seas unheedingly" (I, 7), to the image of him in the fourth sonnet as "unseeing, listless", pacing "along the shore" (IV, 14): the mind simply rethinks the sea-image, without arguing out each step of the change.

The month after his trip to London, Clough had to face the test of his examination, made much more critical by the likelihood that his father would be unable to support him: in a letter to his elder brother Charles, he had already announced that he hoped to live without further assistance from his father, and he thought he would need a first class degree to attract the vacation pupils whose fees could make good this promise.<sup>91</sup> Apart from one couplet about the grim responsibility of duty and belief, Clough did not allow himself the luxury of further verse-composition, until May 13, the last day of his written examination, when he put this stanza into his journal:

Like one that in a dream would fain arise,  
 Toiling and striving, vainly striving still,  
 A strange and baffling torpor still replies  
 To every restless movement of the will.<sup>92</sup>

He still had his viva voce examination to face the following week, but three days later, on the Sunday, he wrote the three stanzas which were to form the opening of section X, "I have seen higher, holier things than these", which show him torn between an other-worldly desire to reject what I take to be the yearning for worldly success, and the fear that

anything less than religion itself was a betrayal of his religious experience. The difficulty of interpreting "these" (lines 1 and 2), when the stanzas are considered separately, illustrates the effect of Clough's "editing" of the sequence, for when the stanzas became section X, "these" shifts in meaning to refer not just to the "daily task" of section IX, but also to the sequence as a whole, suggesting that Clough's rejection was of the false comforts of poetry. Stanzas 2 and 3 recur once again to the "debt", as the heavily-accented final rhyme-word of both stanzas: the overtones are still of literal debt, but the primary meaning is metaphorical and religious, as is made clear by the reference to "falling away" (in line 5). This suggests how serious was Clough's internal conflict, as the main Scriptural antecedent is in a passage on the impossibility of those who have once been enlightened, "if they shall fall away, to renew themselves again to repentance".<sup>93</sup> Read in the light of this conflict, the letters which Clough wrote after his relative failure in getting a second class degree, in which he claimed not to "care a straw" about the class, sound less like bravado, and more like a genuine psychological detachment, difficult though modern academics may find this to imagine.<sup>94</sup> This first drafting of "I have seen higher, holier things than these" did not represent any resolution of Clough's problems, however, for the first three stanzas express only the conflict, without any moral conclusion: the stanzas make sense as Clough's therapeutic self-examination at a time of stress, in accordance with Keble's theory, rather than as a planned contribution towards some larger poem. The stanza form used was again different from that of any of the earlier drafts from which Clough would edit "Blank Misgivings".

In the summer of 1841, he was engaged as a tutor at Grasmere, and then with some Rugby boys in Liverpool, until he returned to Oxford, in October,

to prepare for the fellowship examinations. During that summer and the following autumn, he wrote the fragmentary section VI, previously discussed, and a number of other related poems. Among them was the brilliant short lyric "If, when in cheerless wanderings", with its stern prayer:

Heaven grant the manlier heart, that timely, ere  
 Youth fly, with life's real tempest would be coping. 95

A similar sternness was exhibited in the two stanzas he wrote during the run-up to the Balliol examination, as a sequel and answer to the self-doubt of "I have seen higher, holier things" (later lines 13-20, section X). In both pieces there is an implied effort to give up the search for an ideal self, life or belief, and to rest content with the actual world; they express an early aspiration towards the philosophy of Clough's maturer years. Such aspirations, however, were only one among several of his moods, and did not represent Clough's settled outlook in the later part of 1841. The concluding couplet of "If, when in cheerless wanderings", was much more typical in attitude:

The fruit of dreamy hoping  
 Is, waking, blank despair.

This couplet seems to undercut the hopes of the preceding lines, and indeed the overall impression given in Clough's other writing from these months is of "palsying self-mistrust". He had been deluding himself with "fond belief", "fallacious thought", and "vagrant fancies",  
96  
 and felt himself to be "still varying, still convictionless".

The poem which takes the reader closest to Clough's feelings during this period is "Roused by importunate knocks" (later section VII), which he wrote in late November 1841, after his failure at Balliol. In this quasi-sonnet (unrhymed, and with only twelve-and-a-half lines), he abandoned the direct but potentially falsifying speech of religious



and moral aspiration, and turned instead to an image from university life, presenting his riotous thoughts indirectly, as a late-night band of carousing undergraduates whom he had foolishly admitted to his room.<sup>97</sup> The opening ambiguities of "roused", "importunate", and "knocks",<sup>98</sup> and the later ambiguity of "show" (a revision)<sup>99</sup>, of "vain", and of "wild", reveal an acute self-consciousness, and this careful word-choice, together with Clough's artful delay in introducing the tenor of his image, makes the section one of the most carefully-crafted of the sequence, well able to stand by itself. Even in the following year, Clough was able to write on a copy of the lines "Some old verses ... but not untrue now".<sup>99</sup> The conclusion of this section again utilizes a pun, on "time" (as both a fixed deadline, and an allowed duration), and shows a consciousness of the need to find a practical career, as well as a more general sense that he could not continue his religious speculations indefinitely:

the cold grey dawn

Gleams from the East, to tell me that the time

For watching and for thought bestowed is gone

(section VII, lines 11-13).

It was not till July of the following year, when his life had begun to find at least a temporary pattern, with his election to the Oriel fellowship, that Clough composed the last of the "Blank Misgivings" sequence, section V. This section provided a retrospect across the other previously-drafted verses, and was in some sense a judgement upon them, voicing Clough's own frustration at what he felt to be their inadequacy as a record of his real self:

How often sit I, poring o'er

My strange distorted youth,

Seeking in vain, in all my store,



One feeling based on truth;  
 Amid the maze of petty life  
 A clew whereby to move,  
 A spot whereon in toil and strife  
 To dare to rest and love ...  
 Excitements come, and act and speech  
 Flow freely forth; but no,  
 Not they, nor ought beside, can reach  
 100  
 The buried world below.

These lines are echoed in Matthew Arnold's poem, "The Buried Life", which takes up the images of a "flow" of speech, a conflicting movement in life balanced by a fixity of love, and, of course, the image of the buried, "real" life beneath the surface contradictions. <sup>101</sup> The relative shortness of Clough's verses, however, and the tight lyric form, preclude the exploratory questioning possible in Arnold's much more extended, and more loosely structured poem: Clough had already done his self-questioning in the other sections, and was now making a response to those earlier verses, not creating a separate poem. The image of the inaccessible "buried world" marked the conclusion of a chapter in Clough's own life, and also of the biographical sequence of "Blank Misgivings".

This account of the writing of the various sections has emphasised both the variety of attitudes which they embody, and also their close connection with Clough's own experience during the period of composition. There is nothing in the sections at the composition stage to suggest that they were intended to form a single poem, though the four sonnets which were later used as the opening sequence (sections I-IV) clearly form a group. When Clough copied them into a notebook, he does not seem to have entered them in any particular order, or as a single grouping,

for mixed among them are poems from the previous and the following year.

Yet it is striking that, when Clough came to form the sequence, and to "edit" it into publishable form, he should choose poems exclusively from a single and important period of his life. The Ambarvalia version of "Blank Misgivings" omits only three of the more substantial poems that Clough wrote between November 1840 and November 1841, and omits only 107 lines of verse of any kind from the period. <sup>102</sup> The sequence is, therefore, a virtually complete record of his poetry during that year of troubles. The "editing" that he did was not so much a revising of the wording of individual sections, as the grouping of them to recreate his original experience.

The sequence was planned initially by assigning numbers to the appropriate drafts in the 1839-42 Notebook. At first Clough seems to have planned a twelve-section sequence, and later cut it down to the ten sections of Ambarvalia. Both sequences opened with the sonnets of April 1841, and used the more varied forms of the other poems for the second half of the sequence, making an analogue of the increasing freedom and difficulty experienced by the "speaker" of the sequence. Similarly, neither the twelve nor the ten-section sequence attempted to introduce a linear argument into the poem, both allowing the eddying and fluctuating of attitudes which were so marked a feature of the original composition.

The twelve-section version opened with a double-sonnet confessing aimlessness and sinfulness, and finding no pleasure in landscape or music (sections I, and IV as a continuation). <sup>103</sup> This was followed by two more sonnets, finding that nature seemed not to be affected by sin, and that among the "silent woods and hills untenanted", the speaker could escape his sin, and recruit his strength (sections II and III).

After the four sonnets came a break into freer form, with two poems written rather earlier in 1840. The first, "Away, haunt not thou me / Thou vain philosophy", came from February 1840, and was much more optimistic in its rejection of speculation, and its assertion of hidden "treasure-depths below" than any poem later included. <sup>104</sup> It begins in octosyllabic couplets, broadens out into confident blank-verse, and ends with a quatrain of lyric belief which echoes and answers the sea imagery of sections I and IV. The other poem was "Sweet streamlet basin", from September 1841, with its desire for annihilation in nature <sup>105</sup> echoing section III. Then followed section VI, with the child lost amid the garden-flowers, and section VII, the undergraduate interrupted by carousers; section V, the rejection of self-examination (the "buried world" image echoing the "treasure-depths"); and sections VIII, IX, and X in their present order. Section VIII made a return to the idea of self-annihilation found in section III and "Sweet streamlet basin", but now with the difference that even the stars are hostile and expectant. Section IX, the longest and most loosely constructed, started with the unending walk along a dull road, turning this into an image of his own "melancholy world", contrasting this with the possible transfiguration of faith, and praying for the continuation of hope and belief. Section X brings together the two strictly-stanzaic parts of "I have seen higher holier things", to qualify the "high and cherished visions" of section IX, to echo again the despair of the awareness of debt, and to answer both with a muted realism. Clough did not, however, end his twelve-section plan on this note, but used as the conclusion of the sequence the much more freely-rhymed section, "Thought may well be ever ranging", written in the autumn of 1841, and contrasting the "ever changing" nature of opinion, both with the fixed usefulness of duty and

taskwork, and with the difficulty of the commitment of love. Love had previously been mentioned in section V (line 8), where it required both some resting-place, and some daring, and it could, in fact, make a good metaphor for the problems of religious commitment which are the main theme of the sequence. The lightness of tone of "Thought may well be ever ranging" makes it difficult, however, to make the connection of theme between it and the other poems, and the concluding exhortation to be true to the feelings of the heart seems shallow after the earlier demonstrations of the heart's variability. The despair of the middle part of the sequence seems too real to be shrugged off like this.

For Ambarvalia, therefore, Clough cut the poem down to the ten-section form which was, in fact, closer to the biographical record of a single limited period. "Thought may well be ever ranging" he placed elsewhere in the volume, with the other poems on the "love and duty" theme with which it was more directly comparable. This ten-section version again starts with the four strict sonnets, and with the themes of debt, of the fear and solace of nature, and with the sense of guilt. To follow it, and to replace "Away, haunt not thou me", Clough brought forward section V, "How often sit I poring o'er", which, though composed much later, breaks the sonnet pattern of self-abasement with its assertion of the reality of the "buried world". The fragmentary childhood of section VI, the quasi-sonnet of section VII, and the full sonnet of section VIII then represent, through their use of imaged situations rather than religious language, a second kind of failure, the failure of honest realism rather than of religious aspiration, and this leads to a bleaker and deeper despair in section VIII. Section IX, turning the inviting pathways of section VI into a too-familiar road, now acts as both as a reminder of the realistic imagery of sections VI-VIII and

the high-minded aspirations behind the self-criticism of sections I-IV, and brings the two together as incipient signs of that very grace the speaker feels himself to lack. The tight lyric form of section X, with its double-twist of argument (after stanzas 1 and 3), repudiates speculation, puts forward guilt as the necessary corollary of "high and cherished visions", and advocates a realistic struggle with actual life. The final stanza of the sequence brings together the two still-unreconciled terms of the debate, by framing the Carlylean injunction to a realistic recognition of the limitations of the actual, with a reminder of the transcendent religious ideal:

The Summum Pulchrum rests in heaven above;

Do thou, as best thou may'st, thy duty do:

Amid the things allowed thee live and love;

Some day thou shalt it view.

The pattern which Clough had created in this sequence was, of course, a much clearer one than had existed during the composition of the various sections: nonetheless, it retained much of the original sense of endless intermittent, despairing debate. <sup>107</sup> The "editing" process may be compared with that Tennyson went through with In Memoriam in the eighteenthforties, as he re-ordered his separate "elegies" to form an organised sequence, within which the local sense of confusion, of wandering, and <sup>108</sup> of wildly varying mood, could still be preserved. The difference, of course, is that Tennyson's "elegies" were all composed on a single subject, in a single form, and therefore consciously composed as a single grouping. He was willing and able to compose new sections as part of the editing process, and the sections never formed more than a part of his poetic output during the years of composition. By contrast, Clough's poems had no such unity of intention, only a unity of origin, and the



implicit pattern in the fragments of a single year became apparent only in the editing process itself: even in "editing" he added no new sections to make the structure explicit, <sup>only</sup> the title-quotation from Wordsworth which gives an introductory clue to the kind of structure the reader should expect to encounter. <sup>109</sup>

Such a pattern, created from separately-conceived and conflicting sections, and intended to preserve the sense of conflict, was intrinsically unstable. Clough himself, after the disappointing obtuseness of the 1849 reviewers, did not plan to republish the sequence, but only listed three sections for inclusion in the American edition, and, though Mrs. Clough included eight sections in 1862, there was no indication given that they were to be regarded as a single group. <sup>110</sup> In 1869, the Poems and Prose Remains, in republishing most of Ambarvalia, restored the main grouping under the Ambarvalia title, but unaccountably chose to detach section X, and print it as a separate item. <sup>111</sup> Professor Veyriras has analysed the poem in terms of this last, nine-section, arrangement, but there is no evidence for considering it authorial in origin. <sup>112</sup>

The strength and interest and actuality of the Ambarvalia version, however, relate directly to this very instability. The example of the "Blank Misgivings" sequence suggests that Clough himself, during the Oxford years, came to realise the imaginative power of this unstable and fragmentary kind of poetry, and was trying to preserve it into a published text.

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The three examples of Clough's Oxford poetry studied in detail have



revealed the complex and provisional nature of his process of composition. Even the stronger and more hopeful lyrics are simply the expression of single moods and aspirations, the phenomena of experience, and not the didactic versifications of Arnoldian or Carlylean liberalism for which they have sometimes been mistaken. <sup>113</sup> While some individual poems achieve a temporary singleness of attitude, the poetic process as a whole reveals the complexity of Clough's feeling and thinking.

Clough attempted to do justice to this complexity in his selection and ordering of poems throughout his section of the Ambarvalia volume, not just within the specific grouping of the "Blank Misgivings" sequence; and even before publication of the joint-volume, he had apparently made arrangements for his sixty-four pages to be available bound separately <sup>114</sup> as a "volume" in its own right. The volume opened with a description of the multiple "human spirits" ("seven" in an early draft), "sitting <sup>115</sup> and looking each a different way", and the image could in fact stand for the multiple voices of the poems which follow. The "spirit" of the volume is a "questioning spirit", who describes his role as :

Perplexing these that sleep, and in their folly  
 Imbreeding doubt and sceptic melancholy;  
 Till that, their dreams deserting, they, with me,  
 Come all to this true ignorance ... <sup>116</sup>

The pages that follow do not separate the poems by starting each on a fresh page, and very few of the poems are given titles (only ten out of forty poems). Because several of the poems were themselves subdivided into sections or verse-paragraphs, it is often difficult to tell when one "poem" begins and another ends, and the effect is of switching continually from voice to voice and from attitude to attitude, rather as Clough himself did in writing. Though there are several sets

of poems on related themes, these are woven in and out of each other, rather than presented as a set and continuous debate. Thus the poems on parting are dispersed throughout the volume: "As at a railway junction" on pp.9-10, "Qua Cursum Ventus" on pp.50-51 (undercutting the optimism of "Away, haunt not thou me" on p.35), and "Farewell, my Highland lassie" on pp.56-57. Similarly, the poems on the need sternly to work on in the actual world, leaving religious speculation, appeared at intervals, as "Come back again, my olden heart!" (pp.13-14), "Qui laborat orat" (pp.18-19), "When Israel came out of Egypt" (pp.23-28), sections IX and X of "Blank Misgivings" (pp.45-49), and "If, when in cheerless wanderings" (pp.62-63). The interwoven sequence of poems on duty, often mutually contradictory, have already been referred to earlier in this chapter, and there is a set of poems also on the theme of love. The cross-cutting from theme to theme was an inescapable element in Clough's chosen presentation of his shorter poems.

The conclusion of the volume gave him some difficulty. He had originally intended to end the volume with the muted hope of "If, when in cheerless wanderings", and to place immediately before it the ballad-like poem, "Homo sum nihil humani". In this, the speaker meets a "coarse and common" girl "upon the road", kisses her, and then has to answer his moral questioner:

And why have aught to do with her,

And what could be the good?

I kissed her, O my questioner,

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Because I knew I could!

The shock of this poem has led its re-discoverers to interpret it as a manful grappling with sexuality, which Clough deleted from a misplaced sense of propriety. The placing of it in the volume, however,

suggests that the shockingness may have been a calculated rhetorical trick, an unfair extension of the "love" metaphor previously used in the scrupulous debate about religious commitment and worldly involvement. Kissing a "common" girl "for her carnalness" images tellingly the paradox of an exhortation to be involved in the world, for the sake of religion. It was a metaphor that Clough was to re-write in all four of his major poems over the following four years. For the Ambarvalia volume, Clough decided not to risk the misunderstanding which would have inevitably arisen from this poem, and deleted it in proof. He chose instead to end the volume with an analogous paradox about the relation of human psychology and physiology, to poetic inspiration, using an old poem from his notebooks for the purpose, and placing it to follow "If, when  
118  
in cheerless wanderings".

Contemporary reviewers do not seem to have understood the kind of volume Clough had constructed. John Conington's misunderstanding of the "Blank Misgivings" sequence has already been cited: he commented, "we must complain, too, of the fragmentary state of the whole book ... Why these mere scraps? ... Why ... should an artist begin publishing his sketches before he has painted us one perfect picture?"<sup>119</sup> The reviewer in the Spectator also complained of "this careless obscurity, this throwing of fragments as it were to the reader", and even the more favourable review in The Guardian, which praised the "abrupt little pieces" as "scintillations", made the revealing criticism that Clough's poems showed "a hieroglyphical abruptness of expression which better suits the deshabillé  
120 of an author's notebook than his appearance in public". The references to "sketches" or "an author's notebook" show a very acute insight, even by rather unsympathetic critics. As Wendell V. Harris has pointed out, in Ambarvalia Clough was presenting

"not so much either carefully finished æsthetic objects or powerfully stated formulations of the poet's beliefs as so many instances of the trying-out of ideas in poetic form".<sup>121</sup>

The freedom with which Clough altered and re-wrote and re-arranged the poetry of his Oxford years came from this essentially personal and experimental purpose in the poems. Both the privacy of the imagery, and the provisionality of the texts and conclusions, can be frustrating to critics and to editors, but both should be related to Clough's intentions in writing, when he resumed poetic composition, after the silence of his first undergraduate year. From the experience and the methods of writing developed during the Oxford period, Clough built up the complex longer poems of succeeding years, attempting to find in narrative a way of demonstrating the implicit links behind the conflicting surface attitudes of his poetry, the Voice behind the voices. The re-writing and re-arrangement, which often seems merely compulsive in his Oxford poetry, was to be an essential element in his subsequent work.



TABLE I : the manuscripts of Adam and Eve

<u>Scenes, as arranged by</u> <u>Mrs. Clough</u>		<u>MS.1</u>	<u>MS.5</u>	<u>MS.2</u>	<u>MS.3</u>	<u>MS.4</u>	<u>"List"</u>
I.	Adam and Eve	-	-	-	I	I	I
II.	Adam alone	II	-	-	-	II,1-78	II
III.	Adam and Eve, after the birth	III	-	-	-	-	III
IV, 1-18	Adam and Eve	IV(i)	-	-	-	-	-
IV, 19-102	Adam and Eve	IV(ii)	-	-	-	-	IV(ii)
V.	Adam to Cain and Abel	*V	-	-	-	-	-
VI.	Abel alone	-	-	-	VI	-	VI
VII.	Cain alone	-	-	-	VII	-	?
VIII.	Adam and Eve	-	-	VIII	-	-	VIII
IX.	Cain alone with the body	-	IX	-	-	-	IX
X.	Adam alone	-	-	X	-	-	?
XI.	Cain and Eve	-	-	XI	-	-	XI
XII.	Cain and Adam	-	-	-	XII	-	-
XIII, 1-77	Cain and Adam	-	-	XIII(i)	-	-	XIII(i)
XIII, 77-93	Adam, to Cain	*XIII(ii)-	-	-	-	-	?
XIV.	Adam's vision to Cain	-	-	-	XIV	-	XIV

MS.1 1849 (Roma) Notebook, Balliol MS. 441(a), including material from 1845: the scenes marked with an asterisk are late insertions

MS.5 a sheet of loose paper in the 1849 (Roma) Notebook, with a draft of the Amours de Voyage 'L'Envoi' on the verso (? 1849).

MS.2 1850 (Venice) Notebook, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet d.133.

MS.3 Adam and Eve Notebook I, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.124.

MS.4 Adam and Eve Notebook II, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.125.

"List" from MS.3, Adam and Eve Notebook I, f. 43r.



CHAPTER FOUR : ADAM AND EVE, A PROBLEM FOR CRITICS

While he was still at Oxford, Clough began what was to be his first long poem. This was a dramatic treatment of the early chapters of the book of Genesis, presenting Adam and Eve's varying reactions to the fall, the evolution of their consciousness both of sin and of independence, and their response to Cain's murder of his brother Abel. Even this bald summary of the poem implies that it was somewhat loosely constructed, the material seeming to suggest two rather different plot-foci — one on Adam and Eve, and the other on Cain and Abel. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this was a poem which never reached a stable textual form, and which Clough himself never prepared for publication. The two fair-copy notebooks which Clough used in drafting bear the title Adam and Eve, yet the plot fits so badly to this title that when Mrs. Clough and J.A. Symonds prepared a patched-up text of the poem for publication in the Poems and Prose Remains in 1869, they affixed<sup>1</sup> the more general heading Fragments of the Mystery of the Fall. Neither title is wholly satisfactory, because the poem itself evades any easy summarising, and the modern scholarly convention of using Clough's draft title, while scrupulous in respecting the author's one-time wishes, to some extent conceals the multiple focus of the poem or poems the<sup>2</sup> author actually wrote.

Critical opinion on the work has been correspondingly mixed. On its first appearance, Henry Sidgwick set the tone most subsequent Victorian criticism followed, when he judged that Adam and Eve was "interesting<sup>3</sup> rather than successful". R.H. Hutton agreed with him: "as a poem it cannot rank high, for it is fragmentary as well as unpolished".<sup>4</sup> Of modern critics, however, only Michael Timko and Robindra Biswas have been

so frank, Timko pronouncing Clough's poem "an artistic failure, but ... valuable ... for providing insight into his thought", and Biswas noting that "the incompleteness of the poem imposes severe limitations on its achievement".<sup>5</sup> Most of the other recent comment has been much less restrained, from Lady Chorley's claim that it was "in some ways the most profound poem Clough ever wrote", to the assertions of Professor Houghton that Adam and Eve was "one of Clough's major poems", and "the fullest expression he ever made of his religio-ethical philosophy".<sup>6</sup> The earlier critics who expressed reservations about the poem usually linked these to their awareness that they were reading an unfinished work, while all recent criticism has been based without much questioning, on the text printed by the Oxford editors of 1951, and substantially reproduced by Professor Mulhauser in 1974.<sup>7</sup> The new confidence in criticism marches with a new confidence in, or lack of sustained curiosity about, the text of the poem.

Yet when Professor Houghton first published his striking praise of the poem, which had not previously received much detailed interpretation, one reviewer raised serious doubts about the basis for his judgement.

Kenneth Allott, reviewing Houghton's book for Essays in Criticism, asked:

among the published poems, can 'Adam and Eve', for example, really be discussed in the present state of our knowledge? Mr. Houghton devotes a chapter to this interesting poem, but in my opinion we cannot be sure even of the order of its scenes, and we certainly do not know which of them Clough would have revised or rejected if he had completed the poem.<sup>8</sup>

Adam and Eve seems to me one of the Clough poems where some investigation of the history of composition is most clearly needed, if any further critical discussion is to be based on a real, rather than imaginary, poetic text. The sad truth is that recent criticism of the poem has been the discussion, not of a single poem by Clough, but of a non-authorial conflation from Clough's various separate drafts. The question at least

needs to be investigated, whether these drafts form fragments of a single work, or are fragments from several rather differing "poems", all of which remained unfinished. In the light of what we have seen of Clough's developing methods of composition during his Oxford years, the latter alternative seems at the lowest a possibility, and one which would radically affect our critical response to Clough's treatment. The very fact that the fragmentary or spasmodic drama was a form chosen by many mid-nineteenth century poets makes it all the more difficult for the critic to discern, on literary grounds alone, whether he is dealing with one work or with a number of works.

The history of Adam and Eve, in its present form, goes back, not to Clough himself, but to Mrs. Clough. Both the first and second Oxford editions base their texts of Adam and Eve, save for a few specific readings, on the arrangement of surviving manuscripts made by Blanche Clough and J.A. Symonds for the 1869 edition referred to above. To their redaction, the 1869 editors appended a footnote to explain that "the MS. of this poem is very imperfect", and the word Fragments in their title reinforced this warning.<sup>9</sup> In a memorandum written at the time, but not included in her edition, Mrs. Clough noted down the editorial problems she had faced, and significantly wrote of the manuscripts in the plural, not in the singular of the published footnote:

The MSS of the 'Fall' are singularly fragmentary & interrupted. The poem must have lain long in the author's mind, how long we cannot guess but certainly during several years. The different scenes were found scattered up & down more than one notebook [in fact, in four notebooks and one other manuscript], written often in pencil, with no indications as to date, & nothing but the sense to guide us as to their order ... The first two scenes AHC had copied out fair & apparently intended to preserve. Also in a less perfect copy he had written out Scenes VI & VII - XII & XIV. All the rest is collected from scraps & fouts - yet in spite of roughness and imperfection of expression, when one attempts the reconstruction ... There is hardly a doubt possible as to either general purport or

order; though there are often words missing, & others carelessly repeated & a good many quite or nearly unreadable. 10

The memorandum, particularly in this revealing fuller version, makes it clear that Mrs. Clough was acting as far more than a mere editor for this poem. She herself was conscious that she was attempting "a reconstruction" of a poem that never reached a finished manuscript. The rest of the memorandum consists of a list of the words she supplied to fill lacunae in the text, and a systematic survey of the manuscript sources available to her for each "scene". This makes clear that the materials from which she was working were the same ones which are still extant for the modern editor to use. Since she specifically states that she had "nothing but the sense" to guide her in the arrangement of the scenes, there seems little reason to suppose that she had any special knowledge of Clough's intentions for the poem, such as might have been derived from informal discussion, and she would surely have mentioned any additional manuscript plan for the poem in her memorandum, had such a plan existed. Mrs. Clough's text of Adam and Eve was based, we may infer, simply on a careful assessment of extant manuscripts. Such has been the pressure, however, of the critical desire for a complete and definite text, that, in spite of all the preliminary caveats that critics have made about the "unfinished" state of the poem, they have never felt driven fully to re-examine the judgments made by a fairly unliterary widow over a hundred years ago.

Even the dating of the "poem" remains vague, partly because of the paucity of the evidence, and partly because the very existence of the single "poem" is so much a matter of conjecture. In the earliest sustained criticism of the poem, G.P. Johari claimed that it "was written shortly before The Bothie, while Clough was still contemplating

resigning his fellowship".<sup>11</sup> Professor Houghton took up this dating, though acknowledging that it might apply only to an early version, when he argued that Adam and Eve was written "in the spring of 1848" as an apologia for Clough's impending resignation.<sup>12</sup> Clough's most recent biographer, Dr. Biswas notes the difficulty of dating, but places Adam and Eve, as I do, preceding The Bothie in a basically chronological survey. On the other hand, Lady Chorley delayed her treatment of the poem for 1849 since at least two of the manuscripts seemed to date from that year, and in this she has been followed by Wendell Harris.<sup>13</sup> All recent commentators also recognize that some of the scenes were drafted in a notebook used during Clough's Venice visit of 1850. Since both Professor Houghton and Lady Chorley wish to demonstrate the biographical significance of the "complete" poem (using Mrs. Clough's text), the difference of dating is of some importance. Both of them seem to have been deducing a date for the poem we now read, from stray references and from similarities of tone, which can really only be used to suggest the date of parts or fragments of the work.

The difficulty, both of dating sections of the poem, and of reconstructing Clough's wishes at any particular point during the writing process, is made greater by his very unsystematic method in his rough composition notebooks. The two earlier and more important sources for Adam and Eve are notebooks conventionally called the 1849 (Roma) Notebook, and the 1850 (Venice) Notebook, and given the sigla by the Oxford editors of MS.1 and MS.2.<sup>14</sup> It is partly on the strength of these titles that the basic composition has been dated in 1849, and the additional scenes in 1850. But the notebooks in question are both very scrappy, and there seems no reason to assume that all the different



sections of Adam and Eve within a single notebook formed part of a single composition stage, let alone that the Adam and Eve sections must have been written at the same time as all the other notebook material. Indeed, in the case of MS.1, the title 1849 (Roma) Notebook is clearly misleading, for the full title which Clough wrote upon the cover was "A.H. Clough. / P. / Grasmere L.V. '45 / ROMA - MDCCCXLIX / VALE.", and most of the Adam and Eve drafts are written using the notebook from the opposite end to the drafts of Amours de Voyage, and the Italian journal, the presence of which has been used as evidence for their date. Mrs. Clough, in her notes on the Adam and Eve manuscript for Scene IV, which occurs in this MS.1 notebook, recorded that it was "written in & out, on blank pages of other poems",<sup>15</sup> but it is at least as likely that the other material was written "in & out" on the blank pages of Adam and Eve. A rather similar question arises about the relation of the MS.2 drafts to the other material, mostly from Dipsychus, in the notebook labelled 1850 (Venice), because the Adam and Eve sections form a coherent sequence near the beginning of the notebook, and are not interleaved with any of the Venice or Dipsychus poems. It is, therefore, once again Clough's own methods of composition, his continual broodings and re-planning of his poems, that give rise to the very real textual and critical difficulties to be faced in any examination of Adam and Eve.

What follows, is an attempt to reconstruct the evolution of the poem, stage by stage, and manuscript by manuscript; to consider the rather disparate impulses which lay behind the different stages; to transcribe for the first time what I shall argue is Clough's "editorial" outline for a coherent version of his poem; and to suggest that, in following Mrs. Clough's recension, the Oxford editors reproduced



a text of certain scenes with a line-order that was not Clough's own. Because of the confused nature of the materials which Clough has left, this attempt must necessarily be taken as provisional and tentative, an exploration of the possible composition-process, rather than an exposition of a now-definitive composition-history.

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Behind the writing of Adam and Eve there is a substantial tradition of earlier Scriptural poetry. Most of it has long since been forgotten, but poetical treatments of the early part of the book of Genesis were much more common in the eighteen-forties than one might suppose. It was, however, a split tradition, for the looming example of Milton's treatment of Adam and Eve after the fall was an inescapable memory for early nineteenth-century poets, and no one seems to have had the temerity to attempt the theme again, until Elizabeth Barrett's The Drama of Exile, published in 1844. By contrast, the personal agony and Gothic horror of the story of Cain and Abel struck much more deeply into the Romantic imagination, and there were numerous treatments of that theme: most important, of course, was Byron's drama, Cain, a Mystery (1821).<sup>16</sup> The concept of the fall itself seemed much more difficult for nineteenth-century poets to deal with, than did the post-lapsarian state of alienation from God. The poetic tradition was dominated by the more solemn aspects of Milton's poem in its style, but by the alienated individualism of Byron's Cain for its subject-matter.

The beginning of Clough's own interest in the theme of Adam and Eve can be dated, I would suggest, in the autumn of 1845. In that year, as Dr. Biswas has recently shown, he became particularly involved

with questions of religious belief, feeling drawn to the writings and preaching of the more modern wing of Unitarianism.<sup>17</sup> (The modern, or "transcendentalist" wing of British Unitarianism, influenced by the Boston preacher W.E. Channing, was strongest in James Martineau's church in Liverpool, where Clough spent part of his Long Vacation.) His training under Dr. Arnold - both academic and religious - predisposed him to the Unitarian approach to Old Testament stories, a search for the spiritual meaning which each apparently historical record enshrined.<sup>18</sup> His work on classical biography for Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Myth had given him practical experience of the new scholarly endeavour to reconstruct the human truths behind the distorted accounts of later historians.<sup>19</sup> In 1844, also, he had had to subscribe the XXXIX Articles of Religion, and so affirm his belief in "Original or Birth-Sin", that "mutually is engendered of the off-spring of Adam", even though in an undergraduate poem he had combated the idea of any such innate depravity.<sup>20</sup>

The evidence for Clough's turning to the Adam and Eve story in 1845, however, is quite specific. The so-called 1849 (Roma) Notebook begins at one end with a series of prose memoranda, among them notes on economics, the question of competition in society, the theories of Ricardo, and so on: these were all topics which occupied Clough during the mid-eighteen forties, in the period when Clough was aiming to become "the Apostle of Anti-laissez-faire",<sup>21</sup> and all Clough's biographers have accepted that the memoranda date from the Long Vacation at Grasmere<sup>22</sup> in 1845. Mixed in with them are some notes on the writings of the Unitarian Dr. Channing, and among those is this startling passage:

Is there anything in the notion of a fall and a redemption which is not conveyed in the common philosophical expression - So atonement and grace -

And 2ndly if so, is it essential to connect these truths of human nature with the historical phenomena of Christ, and his life. May not Adam and Christ and their stories be but a Time-Effigiation of the Untemporal Truth ... <sup>23</sup>

That this also dates from 1845 is clear, not only from the layout of the notebook, but because there is in it a note referring the passage to the Prospective Review, number III, which was published in August 1845. This was a Unitarian review run by the Martineau group. Clough recorded the fact that he had seen this number, in a letter from Liverpool of September 21 1845, and copies of the first three numbers of the review were among his books after his marriage. <sup>24</sup>

The primary reference to the Prospective Review is to an article on recent disputes about doctrine among Boston Unitarians, which agreed that much doctrine was irrelevant to Christianity, but two other articles in the number seem to have more direct relation to the notebook passage quoted above. The opening article was a review of An Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology, newly translated from the German of C.O. Müller. This was mainly concerned with classical mythology, but since the review appeared in the organ of a religious party, the relevance to Biblical scholarship is clearly implied. Müller argued that it was the striving to explain what men found curious or difficult to understand which gave birth to "mythi" - that is, to tales told "without any intimation that what is said or related is not true". The primary impulse to mythologise was imaginative and explanatory, and only later did narrators attempt to harmonize these myriad local mythi, both from the desire to produce a satisfying poetic or psychological unity, and also from the attempt to introduce historical consistency into very <sup>25</sup> unhistorical accounts. This theory of the origin of a mythus seems to lie behind the earlier scenes of Adam and Eve, where both characters

are shocked by their journey out of Eden, and Eve seeks to explain it in terms of having eaten the forbidden fruit, and a consequent Fall from grace: Adam, though tempted by the power of the explanation, resists it as merely a bad dream of Eve's, and indeed when he wishes to mock Eve's story, he echoes Müller's use of the word "mythus":

A vague and queasy dream was obstinate

In waking thoughts to find itself renewed,

And lo, the mighty mythus of the Fall!

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(I, 78-80).

A second article in that same number of the Prospective Review may also have had an influence on Clough. This was a rather belated review of Elizabeth Barrett's new two-volume collection of Poems, published in the previous year. It was in this collection that The Drama of Exile had first appeared, and the Prospective's reviewer proclaimed it the pièce de resistance of the volumes, and devoted to it the greatest amount of space, including the copious quotations then so common.<sup>27</sup> Miss Barrett had summarized her subject as "the new and strange experience of the fallen humanity, as it went forth from Paradise into the wilderness; with a peculiar reference to Eve's allotted grief, which - considering that self-sacrifice belonged to her womanhood, and the consciousness of originating the Fall to her offence - appeared to me imperfectly apprehended hitherto".<sup>28</sup> She treated the story in the form of a Greek tragedy, with a chorus of Eden spirits, and wrote about the Fall with the full awareness of sin, springing from her Evangelical faith,<sup>29</sup> which had attracted the adverse criticism of her Unitarian reviewer:

we have long been convinced that the first curse pronounced upon man ... was in truth the first blessing conferred upon him; and in like manner now that we read Miss Barrett's delineation

of the remorse, and sorrows, and efforts and hopes which grow out of the First Sin ... - we cannot resist the idea that the serpent was perhaps not so much mistaken, when he spoke of the knowledge of good and evil turning us into gods, and that the life of temptation and struggling, victory and defeat, which we of this day lead, was most probably, in spite of divines, the kind of life that the Omniscient Creator designed that we should lead, and that the first sin was one of the first steps ... in the rugged path of this educational discipline ... We take the august mythology as it stands - content that it holds, as within a shell, a mournful truth, to which in one form or another all humanity must bear its attestation - the truth, that our nature hath had a fall. 30

It is, therefore, in this third number of the Prospective Review, in the ideas about mythology, in the possibility of a scriptural drama about the Fall, and in the idea of the Fall itself as "mythological", that we find the immediate background to Clough's Adam and Eve. In a sense, his first version was a transcendentalist, and Adam-centred, answer to Elizabeth Barrett's Evangelical and Eve-centred Drama of Exile.

The possible terminus a quo for the composition of that first version must, therefore, be brought forward, to the autumn of 1845. The entry in the "Grasmere / Roma" notebook shows that Clough had been thinking about the subject. He need not, of course have commenced composition as early as that, for the first clear evidence that a version of any kind had actually been written comes from the summer of 1848, some three years later. The two specific places and dates which Clough inscribed on the cover of the notebook might record the two periods in which the notebook was used, or they might merely bracket the time-span of intermittent composition. Nevertheless, by 1848 Clough had a poem which he called Adam and Eve in a clear enough form to show to some friends. During July 1848, it is twice mentioned in Mathew Arnold's letters to Clough and Arnold commented that the "treatment of Adam and Eve's story rather offended" him. <sup>31</sup> Recently, Professor



Mulhauser has printed a letter and poem of J.A. Froude's, from September 1848, which show that Froude too had seen the poem, and that it was unfinished, but fairly extensive. Froude wrote to Clough:

there is a broad sinew about you [in poetry] that I can only hopelessly envy - you can cut down. I believe I shall never manage more than poison ... I think, though, you may give our first parents a polish without hurting the sharpness of the chiselled edge. <sup>32</sup>

I take this to mean that Froude found the poem strong and sharp in its depiction of Adam and Eve, but that he felt it needed revision in its details. The poem which Froude included with his letter expressed, he said, a "kindred" idea to the poem of Clough's that he had seen, and the last stanza of Froude's poem seems to echo Adam's great speech in Scene II, when it asserts that even Sin is part of the universal harmony of nature, and that the sun "sees no Demon in the serpent's fang / Nor breaks't [its] slumber for its victim's pang". <sup>33</sup> Nowhere in either of Arnold's letters, or in Froude's, is there any mention of Cain or Abel, though all three comments are, of course, fairly brief.

The content and scale of Clough's first version has been the subject of widely-varying conjecture. Since Lady Chorley places all the extant manuscripts, scrappy though they are, at a date in 1849 or later, she considers that "probably Matthew Arnold only saw a very tentative sketch" of the poem, in July 1848. <sup>34</sup> Professor Houghton, who relates the poem to Clough's resignation, clearly thinks that a major draft must have been completed by then, though he acknowledges that Clough inserted "some [unspecified] new scenes" in 1849 and 1850. His conjecture as to the content of the first version is that:

Perhaps all that was written by July 1848 was scenes I, II, VI, VII, XII, XIV. <sup>35</sup>

This list plainly derives from that given by the Oxford editors in



their textual notes, but is, I believe, based on a misinterpretation. The Oxford editors are there reproducing the memorandum made by Mrs. Clough in 1868-69, and discussed above. In Mrs. Clough's first draft for the memorandum, it is made clear that the scenes specified were those of which Clough made fairish copies (in the two Adam and Eve notebooks), and that the six scenes did not all occur as a single, coherent text: the shorter version of the memorandum printed in 1951 slightly abbreviates these sentences and led to Professor Houghton's misinterpretation. The two notebooks in question are both late in the development of the poem, and cannot be used as evidence for the structure or content of Clough's earlier versions. Scenes I and II occur together only in Clough's latest (incomplete) fair copy, while scenes I, VI, VII, XII and XIV, as I shall argue, occur together in Adam and Eve Notebook I, not because they there formed a single version, but because they were all extra to earlier texts; they were composed at the same stage, but in an effort to fill the gaps in the narrative when Clough decided to bring together his two original poems into one.

It is, however, possible to suggest a different structure for the first version, which fits the external evidence, and which does not involve postulating a lost manuscript or notebook. Implicit in both Lady Chorley's and Professor Houghton's analysis is the idea that the two Adam and Eve notebooks represent the early form of the texts, while the two mixed notebooks contain additional scenes composed later. A more coherent explanation of the development of the poem can be given if we reverse that assumption, and take the more mixed notebooks as being the earlier versions. Since some of the material in MS.1 (the Grasmere / Roma notebook) dates from 1845, there seems no substantial reason why that notebook should not contain <sup>the</sup> first or "1848" version

of Clough's Adam and Eve, the one which Arnold and Froude were shown.

A breakdown, scene by scene, of that manuscript reinforces the possibility that some of the scenes there formed a fairly coherent version, much more than a "tentative sketch"; for the basic sequence there contains drafts of scenes II, III, and IV, which are solely concerned with the differing responses of Adam and Eve to the fall. These are the scenes which form a semi-ironic counterpart to Mrs. Browning's Drama of Exile. A gap in the draft of scene IV, after line 18, suggests that the scene was planned as two separate sections; it was not put together as a continuous dialogue by Clough, but in Mrs. Clough's edition of 1869. Scene III, which follows scene IV in the notebook, was presumably drafted to take the place of the incomplete first section of scene IV. Such a first version of the poem would well merit the title given it by Arnold and would run to some 263 lines, long enough to give validity to Froude's advice that Clough could cut it down to be shorter. Adam and Eve would have consisted of three sections, like this:

- (i) Adam alone, soliloquizing on his own mixed reactions to the Fall, and conscious that Eve's explanation is merely her "imaginings": later scene II.
- (ii) Adam and Eve together, Eve happy about the birth of her first child, Adam warning her that the child inherits "human trouble", is like them and "therefore is not pure": later scene III.
- (iii) Adam and Eve together, Eve asserting the doctrine of original sin, and Adam asserting that this is a "misconstruction" of his words: later scene IV (section 2).

The poem would have ended on a note of complex irony, with Adam warning Eve not to put her "religious crotchets" into the "tender brains

of our poor young ones", while the reader knew that all over Britain children were being systematically instructed in those very doctrines of the innate sinfulness and utter depravity of even the most innocent baby. It will be noted that these early scenes do not presuppose any continuation of the drama, since Cain is introduced only as the "first baby" of fallen parents, "earthy as well as god-like". The focus is firmly on the conflict of viewpoint between the adult, questioning, realistic Adam and the proto-theological Eve.

There are two short further "scenes" in this notebook, which do not fit with the "poem" I have postulated. These two scenes both refer to an adult Cain, and clearly relate to a plan in which the murder of Abel would be included. Their placing in the notebook, however, suggests that they did not form part of the original sequence of composition. Scene V, a scrap of eight lines in which Adam warns Cain and Abel not to quarrel, was a late insertion on a page of the notebook opposite scene III, lines 77-93, with which it has no direct connection, while the short portion of scene XIII (lines 77-93 only), consisting of Adam's farewell speech to Cain after the murder, occurs on a separate page, and has no thematic link with the adjacent material. In summary, an analysis of the "Grasmere / Roma" notebook, together with the scraps of external evidence, suggests that Clough first composed a coherent, though unpolished, poem solely on the Adam and Eve theme, and that this was the poem completed by the summer of 1848.

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The second stage in the development of Clough's treatment of the consequences of the Fall came when he turned his attention away from

Adam and Eve, to the Byronic hero, Cain the murderer. There are three reasons for thinking that this development dates from some time in 1849. If the drafts in MS.1 relating to an adult Cain are, as suggested above, later than the Adam and Eve scenes, they are still likely to have been drafted before July 1849, for by then at the latest the notebook must have been filled up with Amours de Voyage material. It was in early 1849, also, that Clough wrote his other, much more coherent poem on the Cain theme, "The Song of Lamech", which Clough annotated as from February of that year.<sup>39</sup> Thirdly, and most importantly, one crucial scene of the new Cain drama was drafted on a sheet of paper which carries on the reverse side, a draft of "L'envoi" to Amours de Voyage.<sup>40</sup> Since "L'envoi" appears in an expanded version in the first full-length text of Amours, completed by October 1849, it is probable that this scene, which presents Cain alone with the body of Abel, and which Mrs. Clough numbered scene IX, also dates from the summer of 1849.

Although scene IX could, of course, originally have been intended as a separate dramatic monologue, most of the Cain scenes were drafted in a single sequence near the beginning of MS.2, conventionally called the 1850 (Venice) Notebook. Like MS.1, the MS.2 notebook is a collection of drafts from different poems, including sections of both Amours de Voyage and Dipsychus, as well as the "Cain" scenes: there seems no particular reason for assigning these scenes to 1850, rather than 1849, though either dating would fit adequately into this reconstruction of the poem's history.<sup>41</sup> MS.2 must, however, be later in date than MS.1, because, in its drafting of scene XIII, it gives the text only as far as a catch-line (line 77, the beginning of a new sentence), indicating that the following speech was already drafted elsewhere.

It is the draft of scene XIII that occurs first in the MS.2 sequence,

and it is very roughly drafted indeed. It seems originally to have been intended as a simple set-piece, with two long speeches, Cain's confession and Adam's reply. The recto-pages of ff. 5-7 carry Cain's lines as a single long speech, while Adam's earlier interjections, together with some short additions to the Cain speech, are all written as isolated sections on the verso-pages, suggesting that they were later insertions by Clough.

Unfortunately, when Mrs. Clough came to transcribe the scene for the 1869 edition, she thought that the jerkiness of the scene, and the many gaps and breaks which were necessarily left on the verso pages by Clough's procedure, were the normal signs of an unrevised early draft, and she simply took each page as it came, making a muddle of Clough's line-ordering. Even more unfortunately, both the first and second Oxford editions followed the line-order of 1869, only correcting individual words from the manuscript. The notebook is, of course, fairly messy, but it seems clear enough what Clough's own ordering was meant to be in the opening exchange, for instance. Here the 1869 text produces near-nonsense, because Cain in lines 7-9 makes no direct response to Adam's speech (lines 2-6), while in line 10 he responds to it directly. In the manuscript, f. 5r begins with lines 7-9, then has a sign for an insertion, and then proceeds with lines 10ff. Lines 1-6 occur on the opposite page, f. 4v. The opening might therefore be altered to read:

Cain. Curse me, my father, ere I go. Your curse

Will go with me for good; your curse

Will not make me forget. Abel is dead.

Adam. My son, 'tis done, it was to be done; some good end

Thereby to come, or else it had not been.

Go, for it must be. Cain, I know your heart,



You cannot be with us. Go then, depart;

But be not over [scrupulous,] my son.

Cain. Alas, I am not of that pious kind,

Who when the blot has fallen upon their life,  
Can look to heaven and think it white again.

Similar reordering is needed later in the scene, inserting the extra lines from f.5v (lines 23-4, 28-9), into the sequence of Cain's speech on f.6r.<sup>44</sup> Between lines 58 and 59 of the scene there is a lacuna, perhaps intended for material already drafted elsewhere. (Clough himself never made a fair copy of the scene, and this rough draft in MS.2 is the only extant manuscript).

The shift of focus from Adam and Eve (in the first version, scenes II-IV) to Cain the murderer (in scenes IX and XIII) introduced a rather different set of questions about sin: the shift is one from presenting sin as human frailty, to presenting sin as inexpressible crime. Clough himself changed, not so much his basic beliefs, as his tone and outlook, between his later years at Oriel, and his time in London as Principal of University Hall: the change could be summarised as the difference between the confidence of The Bothie (1848), and the darker view of human kind offered in Amours de Voyage (from 1849), and in Dipsychus (from 1850). The drafting of these two, powerful, Cain scenes, therefore, should perhaps be seen, not so much as a development of focus within the sequence of a poem, but rather as a development of the writer's attitude, leading to his dramatisation of a different Genesis story.

The other scenes in MS.2, drafted after scene XIII, were planned to introduce the two major set-pieces: they do not form any effective bridge between the old Adam and Eve scenes and the new Cain material. After the last page of scene XIII, there follows, first, scene VIII,



headed "ante", and then, headed "Multo-post / Inter-monologue", scenes X and XI. No speaker is given for scene X, a soliloquy by Adam. Scene XI, between Cain and Eve, raises the same kind of difficulties found in the manuscript of scene XIII, for, as in that scene also, Clough seems to have embarked first on a long Cain speech and only inserted the earlier Eve interjections in the course of composition. In this case, Clough's intentions were unclear in the drafting: but lines 3-5 appear to have been intended to come between the two parts of line 1 ("my perfect son" in line 5 being alternative, not additional, to "my holy child" in line 4). Eve's speech, in lines 9-13, appears on the verso of f.10, opposite lines 14-28 of Cain's speech (f. 11r), but there is no indication of its proper placing. In lines 34-35, "in penitential prayer" replaces the false start of "your soul", making the rhythm more subtle by altering "prostrate" from a verb to an adjective, and leaving a regular blank verse line:

Beware! prostrate in penitential prayer,  
 Humble your heart beneath the mighty hand  
 Of God ... (XI. 34-5)<sup>45</sup>

Eve's pleading with Cain in this scene, for penitence and atonement, leading to God's forgiveness of the murder, contrasts pointedly with Adam's advice that it is Time which "healeth all", in scene XIII (XIII. 29).

The separate Cain scenes made up a work of some 217 lines, which consisted of five or six sections:

- (i— possibly) Adam warning Cain and Abel (scene V)
- (ii) Adam discussing the sacrifices with Eve (scene VIII)
- (iii) Cain alone with the body of Abel (scene IX)
- (iv) Adam alone, soliloquizing on the murder (scene X)

(v) Cain with Eve, the "religious" conclusion (scene XI)

(vi) Cain with Adam, the "human" conclusion (scene XIII)

Whether these scenes were begun as an entirely separate work from Adam and Eve, or whether they were intended as a parallel poem to it, a kind of second act of the dramatic conflict between realism and religiosity, the change of focus in this second composition-stage remains clear.

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The subsequent history of the poem is the story of Clough's plans to fit together the two rather differently-conceived phases of the drama into one coherent frame-work. No continuous manuscript was ever completed from this stage, for Clough's latest fair copy of the work, in Adam and Eve Notebook II (MS.4), gets only as far as to scene II, line 78, before stopping in mid-sentence: the material for this third, editorial stage had, however, all been drafted in a yellow-covered copybook, Adam and Eve Notebook I (MS.3).<sup>46</sup> Table I presents in parallel columns the scenes which occur in each of the extant manuscripts for Adam and Eve, and it will immediately be noted that none of the previously-drafted material is duplicated in this yellow copy-book.\* MS.3 contains a wide scattering of scenes - a prologue and epilogue (scenes I and XIV), two contrasting soliloquies from before the murder, illustrating the characters of Cain and Abel (scenes VI and VII), and a short, fragmented and incomplete exchange between Adam and Cain, which might be placed at any point in the closing section of the drama (scene XII). Also included in the notebook, following the same sequence as the Adam

\* Table I is facing p.101 above.

and Eve scenes, are two stanzaic lyrics, which Professor Mulhauser printed as separate poems in his revision of the Oxford edition, but<sup>47</sup> which relate in theme to the longer work.

The strongest argument for placing this notebook as the third stage in the composition of the poem, rather than earlier, as Professor Houghton seems to place it, is an internal one: unlike the manuscripts previously discussed, its contents do not make any coherent grouping by themselves. It is only as a framework for existing scenes that such a discontinuous spread of scenes as that in MS.3 could have been<sup>48</sup> composed.

The drafting of the new "prologue",<sup>49</sup> or scene I, altered the light in which we first see Adam, by beginning the drama with his rationalising account of the origins of the "mythus of the Fall", and therefore making his "dipsychan" doubtings in scene II a complication of the basic debate, rather than our first introduction to it. In the MS.3 draft the force of Adam's scepticism receives slightly stronger expression than in the subsequent fair copy in MS.4. As the Oxford editors note, Adam first described the idea of the fall to Eve as coming

Forth from your brain, its crater, hurrying down

(Or was it, my beloved, from the womb?) (I, 75f.)

Rather similarly, in Adam's condemnation of her guiltiness, MS.3 contains a stronger, more colloquial expression:

I hear a Voice, more searching, bid me 'On!

'On! on! it is the folly of the child

'To chose his path and straightway think it wrong,

'And turn right back, or lie on the ground to blub.

'Forward! go, conquer! work and live!'

(I, 107-111).

The strength of Adam's assurance in this opening scene provides the key-note against which we can judge the fluctuating and varying attitudes of him as well as of the others, in the subsequent scenes. The early introduction of the idea of death as an eternal fact of the human condition, like Eve's refusal to recognize the normality and inevitability of death, provides a link between the early Fall scenes, and the crushing fact of the murder which dominates the second part of the drama.

With the ending of the work Clough apparently had much more difficulty. Dr. Biswas has commented on the varying tonalities of Adam's final speech in the 1869 text, and in particular has characterised the last five lines as "a disappointing conclusion to the poem".<sup>50</sup> The fair copy, MS.4, never of course reached beyond the opening scenes, and the MS.3 notebook seems to contain several different ideas for the ending. What we now call scene XII, for instance, may represent a false start for a final dialogue between Cain and Adam, in which Adam would reveal to Cain the true origin of Eve's doctrine of the fall, thus linking back to the new prologue. But there is even doubt as to the point at which the fully-drafted conclusion, scene XIV itself, should end, and some difficulty as to the ordering of its lines. Clough did not compose it all as one sequence, and "ended" several times. The lines Dr. Biswas finds disappointing may not have been Clough's finally-intended conclusion.

The draft is laid out in Clough's usual fashion, with a basic draft-sequence on the recto pages, and additional material on the versos. The verso sections of text include two more-or-less self-sufficient passages, lines 1-13 (on f.31 v), and lines 37-45 (on f. 32v), neither group filling its page. The rectos carry lines 14-31 as a single sequence

(line 14 at first began "And", not "Then"), but thereafter, on f.33r, there is a complicated series of redraftings of the rest of Adam's speech. This includes, in order, (i) lines 32-35; (ii) two drafts of line 50, crossed out; (iii) a draft of lines 47-50; (iv) a gap; (v) lines 46-8 in the version finally printed. The first part of the speech to be drafted, therefore, was probably lines 14-36, which Clough prefixed with the new section of lines 1-13, and concluded with an echo of line 1 in the draft of line 50. Then followed the decision to conclude with the "Life is beautiful" lines, and only after that did he draft the stronger, and darker, lines 35-45, and redraft lines 46-8 to run on from them. The order followed in presenting this speech in the Oxford edition seems to me the most likely one, though the possibility has to be considered that Clough intended a repetition of the "Life is beautiful" lines, not a replacement of one draft with another: repetitions of the opening phrase of a sentence are a common device in Clough's verse.

Adam's speech ends on the recto of f. 33 of the notebook, while immediately following on the verso of the same leaf come these lines, intended for Eve, or perhaps Cain, which were wrongly incorporated into Adam's own speech by Mrs. Clough in 1869, and relegated to the textual notes by the Oxford editors:

As he had lived he dies - My comforter,  
 Whom I believed not, only trusted in,  
 What had I been without thee? how survived?  
 Would I were with thee wheresoe'er thou art!  
 Would I might follow and be with thee still!

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After this, on f. 34r and the two succeeding pages, comes a lyric headed "Chorus", which was printed as a separate poem by the Oxford

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 editors. This appears to follow on directly from scene XIV, and to form some kind of elegiac conclusion, both to it and to the drama as a whole: the image of the birds ceasing their singing seems to link to Adam's wish to sleep (XIV, 49), while the lyric's refrain "Let us go! Let us go!", with its joint overtones of a desire for action and for freedom, fit with the theme of the drama. Since this lyric is followed in the notebook by part of the draft for the prologue (on f. 36r), there seems little doubt that Clough wrote it in connection with the Adam and Eve project.

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 Fortunately, however, we are not dependent wholly on internal evidence in working out the shape of poem Clough intended to result from this third, "editorial" stage in the development of the work. On a blank half-page later in the MS.3 notebook, written slightly at an angle, and apparently overlooked by earlier students, there is what appears to be a list of headings for the co-ordination of the various different scenes, forming a very rough plan for the work. 54 This reads as follows:

Prologus

O fool

Ye birth

Crotchet - abel

-  
 Epilogus

These sacrificings,

What fallen -

Curse me my mother

my father -

Abel is dead -



The use of the technical Latin forms "Prologus" and "Epilogus" is interesting in connection with the titling of the "Chorus" lyric, and suggests a conscious remodelling of the drama on the lines of a Greek tragedy: perhaps this was also the inspiration for the careful parallelism of speeches in the second part of the work. The handwriting of the list appears to be Clough's own (e.g. in the formation of the "g"s), and this identification is reinforced by the fact that such short notes could be used for the separate scenes (e.g. "crotchet" for scene IV, part 2: cf. IV, line 22). If it had been a rough list made by Mrs. Clough, it would have needed fuller titles for the scenes, and would have included all of them, instead of a selection. The left-hand column appears to give a list of the order for the framing scenes and the Adam and Eve exchanges, while the right-hand column gives an order for the Cain scenes. If this list is accepted as genuine, it gives a plan for the poem like this: Prologue - scene I; scene II - cf. "O fool!" in line 5; scene III - the birth of Cain; scene IV, part 2 only (from line 19); scene VI - Abel alone - possibly with its parallel soliloquy from Cain (scene VII); scene VIII - "These sacrificings" (line 1); scene IX - Cain's speech beginning "What? fallen?"; scene XI - "Curse me, my mother"; scene XIII - the parallel scene with Adam, beginning "Curse me, my father"; possibly scene X, beginning "Abel is dead"; Epilogue - scene XIV, perhaps in the longer form reconstructed above. It will be noticed that this forms a very similar overall structure for the work to that deduced by Mrs. Clough, on the basis of the "sense" alone, with the exception of the omission of the first part of scene IV, the whole of "scenes" V and XII (both short and scrappy), and the possible omission of scenes VII and X.

If genuine, the plan demonstrates a real attempt by Clough to bring together the two different stages of original composition into a single

dramatic poem, but the two-column lay-out of the plan makes clear once again that Clough was trying to combine materials he thought of as falling into two separate groups. The beginnings of Clough's fair copy in the MS.4 notebook follow this plan, for the short portion of the work there completed, and the recopying, if carried through, could have given Clough a chance to tie up the loose ends inevitably left from such an attempt at the conflation of two different stages of composition.

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Because of its curious composition-history, Adam and Eve poses problems for the critic, and would still do so, even if the published text were to be re-edited to follow more closely Clough's third-stage reconstruction of the work. On the one hand, the critic naturally wishes to study the work as a whole, in Clough's most ambitious, and most highly-developed, version, to do justice to Clough's intentions. On the other hand, the sections from which that final version has to be reconstructed are not only rough and fragmentary in form, being for the most part first drafts, but were actually composed before an overall structure had been evolved, and <sup>are</sup> therefore not likely to be susceptible to the kind of close study which involves the tracing of ironic contrasts, or recurrent symbolism, from scene to scene.

It is doubtful in what sense, for instance, Professor Houghton can point us to lines in scene VII for the clue to Cain's action in scene IX, if scene VII was not written for the same form of the poem, as the text in which we read scene IX: clearly scene IX must previously have been interpretable without the aid of scene VII. <sup>56</sup> Similarly, in

what sense can one criticize scene V for handling "a highly dramatic situation...too briefly and suddenly to be effective", if the lines which have been published as "scene V" do not appear in the plan for the third-stage version, and may never have been thought of as more than a brief sketch of the possibilities for such a scene, in the second stage when the Cain scenes were first being projected?<sup>57</sup> How far are we justified in taking as our text for critical study a reconstruction of a work Clough once thought of writing, but never actually wrote?

At least one Victorian critic had no doubts that literary criticism of the poem was quite unfair to its writer. Samuel Waddington wrote, in his monograph on Clough, that:

This poem, in our judgement, does great injustice to Clough, and we do not think that he would himself have published many portions of it as they at present stand ... It is very hard on an author when an unfinished and imperfect composition, found after his death amongst the old papers in his study, is ... printed and published.<sup>58</sup>

This kind of caveat in effect prevents any kind of examination of the poem at all, and it also rests on the fundamental misconception that the 1869 text was an imperfect, fragmentary, draft of a poem Clough had conceived as a single work.

Criticism of the structure of the poem is even more difficult, whether in praise or blame, than criticism of individual scenes. Clough's intention of making the focus of the poem change from sin to crime, in effect creating a two-act drama, is clear enough, by the MS.3 manuscript of the work; but equally clearly he never completed a text embodying this intention. This could, of course, have been the result simply of changed interests, other preoccupations, and so on, but it could equally have been because he himself, after experiment, found the relation of Biblical characters and modern moods rather strained, recognised

the rather different treatment he had given to the two parts, and began to think that the Adam and Cain "acts" could not be brought into satisfactory connection. Arnold's comment, that the treatment of Adam and Eve "offended" him, has already been mentioned; Henry Sidgwick was perhaps more perceptive when he described the whole project, of treating "antique personages" as exhibiting modern self-consciousness, as "too whimsical".<sup>59</sup> Sidgwick noted an unevenness of tone in the poem when he suggested that Clough's imagination was "inadequate" to deal with the murder of Abel, and he concluded that the poem was unfinishable: "we doubt", he wrote, "whether the poem could ever have been completed so as to satisfy the author's severe self-criticism".<sup>60</sup>

Adam and Eve shows that, with some of Clough's unfinished poems, the reader would be unjustified in making the usual critical assumption about the integrity of the work he is reading. Clough's notebooks contain many experiments which did not lead to a finished work, as well as notable ones which did. The unsystematic browser in Adam and Eve, who responds with admiration to the general ideas and to a few memorable passages, may in fact be closer in spirit to Clough himself than the careful analyst of literary structure. Particularly in a poem such as this one, where the possible achievements rest on the juxtaposition of contrasting views and feelings, the critic must be unusually careful that the contrasts are not the random ones which must result from a non-authorial attempt to compile the "most complete text", and that the juxtapositions are not simply the result of a misinterpretation of line-ordering from a very scrappy manuscript. The re-writing process, which led to so many of Clough's most achieved works, must inevitably lead also to some situations in which the critic is working with the unwritten "poems" he perceives in the separate fragments, rather than with an editorial fiction about "the author's final intention".

CHAPTER V - THE BOTHIE : THE EVOLUTION OF A STABLE TEXT

By the autumn of 1848, Clough had resolved to resign his Oriel fellowship, and to leave Oxford. He found himself, for the first time in his life, facing the approach of October without the usual duties of a new academic year. It was at this point that he conceived, wrote, and published a substantial narrative poem, The Bothie, in the astonishingly short time of just two months. The new decisiveness about his career seems to here been paralleled by the rapid completion of this, his first full-length published work.

It is, therefore, of particular significance for this thesis that the kind of revisions Clough made to The Bothie differ somewhat from the characteristic pattern of his Oxford poems. In spite of the subsequent change of title, and some later pruning of the poem, The Bothie was to remain unchanged in outline through all the stages of its revision, and it is textually the most 'stable' of all Clough's longer works. Even in the rapid period of first composition, Clough's many alterations reinforced a stable basic narrative-structure, rather than producing new developments or perspectives, as his "second thoughts" so often did elsewhere. The revisions he did make show the evolution of the poem, rather than drastic re-thinking. It must, one feels, be more than mere coincidence that makes The Bothie at once the most rapidly completed, the least-drastically rewritten, the most unequivocally optimistic, and for several generations the most popular of Clough's full-length poems.

The difference is partly one of the chosen genre. The Bothie is predominantly in a third-person narrative, framing some first-person monologues and letters, while all Clough's other long poems, before



the Mari Magno tales of 1861, are predominantly first-person monologues or duologues. Relatively speaking, the authorial voice in The Bothie gives to Clough's poem a certainty that is absent amid the multiplying ironies of his other works. This poem, which one Victorian critic described as "Clough's almost solitary claim to literary eminence", and another as "the best known of Clough's works", is, in some significant respects, untypical.<sup>1</sup>

It seems straightforward enough to 'explain' this in biographical terms, as the literary concomitant of Clough's new-found personal confidence, following the decision to resign his fellowship. It can be seen, also, as an attempt to control and unify the fragmentary, centrifugal experiences from which the decision to resign had developed. The 'unity' of the poem lies much more in the initial choice of plot, in the 'myth' of emigration and marriage and the "Good time coming", than it does in Clough's 'realistic' treatment of undergraduate or Highland life, and of Philip's and Elspie's thoughts: the here-and-now of The Bothie is as disjunctive as always, and it is the myth of the future which allows new integration. The relative stability of Clough's text in The Bothie follows as much from the new importance of plot, as it does from any change in Clough's own attitudes. Clough's "second thoughts" on such central themes of The Bothie as certainty in love, and political commitment, would later require new plots, not simply a rewriting of the Highland story. In this chapter, I shall survey the process by which Clough built up the text of The Bothie, emphasising the extent to which the shape and tone of the poem followed from a few original ideas; I shall consider the effects of Clough's later revisions to the poem in 1858-59; and I shall examine briefly the way Clough utilised some methods from his more typical "poetry of



second thoughts" within the stable framework of his narrative.

It is necessary, first of all, to qualify recent arguments about the chronology of the poem's composition. The traditional account has been that mentioned above, in which Clough is stated to have conceived and completed the poem between mid-September and mid-November 1848. The account derives from Clough himself who, in answer to Emerson's accusations that in July 1848 he had been unfairly secretive about his work-in-progress, replied:

How could I tell you of my Pastoral-to-be, when it had not been thought of? It was only begun in September; and when I left you on the deck of your steamer, I had no thought of that or any other new poem. <sup>2</sup>

Recently, however, R.B. Rutland has argued that "it is unlikely that a work as long and as rich as The Bothie could have been quite as unpremeditated as the remarks to Emerson suggest". <sup>3</sup> Rutland points out that Clough had made various earlier drafts, which anticipate separate aspects of the later longer poem. In particular, he draws attention to two 'poems' of Clough, one unpublished and one only partially published when Rutland wrote his article, but both now included in the revised edition of the Oxford Poems.

The first of these is a group of hexameter lines, describing an encounter between a young man and a Highland ferry-girl, and dating, most probably, from late 1847. The lines fall into three sections, of eight, fourteen and six lines, and <sup>are</sup> all that survive of two much longer drafts (possibly alternative treatments of the same incident), <sup>4</sup> totally 141 lines in all. The lines clearly prefigure the incident described in The Bothie, III, 170-178, where Philip met a ferry-girl. Rutland points out that they show Clough applying the characteristic metre of The Bothie, the hexameter line, to its characteristic subject

matter - the Highland flirtation - some time before the formal composition<sup>5</sup> of the longer poem. There are, however, certain differences: the fragments of this draft refer to a ferry rowed with oars (like that at Foyers, where Walrond had chaffed Shairp about the ferry-girl), while, in The Bothie, the incident is much briefer, and is transferred to the chain-ferry at Laggan. The lines do not so much represent an early experiment for the long poem, as an earlier, unfinished fragment on an incident Clough was to treat again when he came to write his larger work.

Similarly, Rutland's second example of "an experiment for The Bothie" is really a separate and different shorter poem, and does not indicate pre-1848 planning. This is the poem, a short version of which was included in Clough's Ambarvalia (1849), under the title "ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ", and which was first written in September 1847,<sup>6</sup> soon after Clough's Drumnadrochet reading-party. It is a monologue, giving the thoughts of a young man such as Philip Hewson, as he says farewell to a Highland lassie he has kissed, and as he wonders whether he is forfeiting "his destined dower" by leaving her. The parallel in The Bothie is not with Philip's love for Elspie, but with his earlier, abandoned love for Katie, the girl on the Rannoch farm (The Bothie, II, 190-241). The 1847 poem is clearly intended to be a dramatic monologue, complete in itself, and Clough's successive revisions show no signs that he<sup>7</sup> would turn to an extended narrative treatment of the incident. In the 1847 notebook, the draft runs to some 114 lines, involving several changes of attitude by the speaker. In the first revision, Clough cut eighteen concluding lines, which had asserted the transcendent value of the lovers' brief encounter; for the second revision, he cut a further three stanzas about the possible values of the love which is being

rejected, leaving a version of 62 lines; while for the published text of 1849, the poem was reduced to two short stanzas of 24 lines in all, simply a "bitter-sweet" farewell to the Highland lassie, and a frank recognition that the happy, but "laborious homely life" of old Lochaber was merely a dream, and that the departure was the waking reality.

Clough's revisions show a concentration and simplification of his original poem, rather than any inclination to extend it into a full-length long-vacation pastoral.

It is difficult, therefore, to accept without qualification Professor Rutland's contention that "fundamental aspects of The Bothie had been the subject of earlier thought and experiment", if "experiment" is to mean preliminary attempts in preparation for the larger work.<sup>8</sup> Clough had been writing about and around his Scottish vacation experiences before 1848, but there is no documentary evidence that he ever contemplated, let alone "experimented" towards, a substantial narrative poem such as The Bothie.

The poem draws on earlier preoccupations and activities, rather than on earlier plans or draftings. Clough had, for instance, been experimenting for several years with the use of classical metres for English verse, publishing some examples in a classical journal.<sup>9</sup> The criticisms of luxurious living made in the poem echo Clough's letters to the Balance newspaper in 1846, and his pamphlet on Retrenchment of 1847,<sup>10</sup> and grew out of his reading of political economy. The question of woman's role in society was one he had to consider, partly because his sister Anne, later first Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, constantly asked his advice in her first explorations towards a teaching career, and partly because he had himself been attracted to a "modern-fine-lady," Agnes Walrond, in the sophisticated drawing-room of Calder

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 Park. Behind the story of The Bothie lay the reading parties for undergraduates that Clough had organised; one in the Lake District, at Grasmere, in 1843, and, more specifically, the two Highland reading-parties, at Castleton-in-Braemar in 1846, and at Drumnadrochet in Glen Urquhart in 1847. The central symbol of the poem, the bothie itself, was drawn from a forester's cottage where Clough had stayed in September 1847, about six miles from the head of Loch Ericht, on the west shore.<sup>12</sup> The two earlier poems cited by Rutland, together with others such as "ἐπὶ Ἀκτῶν", and "Homo sum nihil humani", show that Clough had previously considered the poetic possibilities of holiday flirtation between upper-class tourists and Highland lassies.<sup>13</sup> As tutor, of course, he had been in some sense responsible for his Highland pupils who, all reports agree, greatly enjoyed the local dances.

There is also a strong tradition that Clough himself had had some kind of love-affair with a Highland girl, in 1846 or 1847. There is no unequivocal documentary evidence for this, however, and it seems to be based mainly on the recurrence of the Highland lassie-figure, in the poems mentioned above, in The Bothie, and in one of the Mari Magno tales, "The Lawyer's Second Tale". It is worth remembering in this connection that Clough was an inveterate re-writer, returning again and again to the same themes, whether or not they were directly autobiographical. The recent study of the question, by Robindra Biswas, suggests that Clough may even have been contemplating marriage to a Highland girl in 1846. Dr. Biswas concludes, however, that "the symbolic and imaginative significance of the 'Highland girl' is of more importance<sup>14</sup> than problematical biographical details", and the symbolic significance had begun to be established for Clough before the autumn of 1848.

Lastly, Clough had for some time been contemplating the possibility

of emigrating. His schoolfellow, J.P. Gell, had long before emigrated to Van Diemen's Land. At the time of his own resignation from Oriel he hoped, among other plans, to get a job at the new university college at Sydney, Australia. Most important of all, his friend Tom Arnold, the younger son of Arnold of Rugby, had sailed for New Zealand in November 1847, after touring, Philip-like, around the Scottish Highlands, and Clough was in correspondence with him throughout 1848, hearing of his hopes to establish himself in a simple farm-life of spade-labour. The idea of emigration which Clough met in the eighteen-forties was rather different from the late-Victorian ideal of imperial responsibility: although the eighteen-forties emigrant was often hoping for economic betterment, a frequently expressed purpose was the search for a free, natural, 'moral' life of productive labour, away from the inhibiting precedents and constraints of parasitic English society. The image, and overtones, of emigration in The Bothie were ones with which Clough had been familiar for some time, through Tom Arnold.

In the years before The Bothie was written, therefore, Clough's mind and life had many ideas and experiences on which he could draw for that poem, and he had even utilised some of these ideas and experiences in short separate poems. Yet a preoccupation with some themes is not the same thing as a preliminary plan for a poem. The traditional picture of the poem's composition, we may conclude, is not essentially misleading. The Bothie was written, printed, revised, and published, in the space of about two months, from mid-September 1848, and though there was some revision of newly-drafted material done in that time, it does not seem to have involved the recasting of earlier experimental drafts.



The detailed history of the composition of the poem throws an interesting light on the spirit in which Clough undertook it. He had evidently not been intending to spend his time that autumn on poetry, but instead on the prestigious lay-preaching of periodical essay-writing. As we have seen, he protested to Emerson that, in July 1848, his "Pastoral-<sup>15</sup>to-be ... had not been thought of", and as late as September 4, he wrote to Tom Arnold, "I don't much intend writing any more verse, but have a notion for Essays", a notion perhaps fostered by the reviewer<sup>16</sup> W.R. Greg, with whom he was staying at the time. But while Clough was staying at Greg's, in the Lake District, he went over to Patterdale, to visit one of his ex-pupils H.W. Fisher, who was holding his own<sup>17</sup> first reading-party, "fresh from the schools". Clough went over, too, to the Arnold home, at Fox How, and exchanged "faithful reminis-<sup>18</sup>cences" of the radical emigrant Tom. He lingered a few days in the Lake District, and then on September 7 went south, "with compunction and division of soul", on a duty-visit to his mother and sister in Liverpool. He could not escape the contrast with the previous two autumns, when he had been on reading-parties in the Highlands. A week later, he wrote to Fisher, "Liverpool is a dismal place, and the Sun and Moon which shine so brightly on it also conjure up visions of places more worthy of such adornment ... generally speaking the weather has been glorious - a little cold for bathing before breakfast perhaps - but most tempting between logic and dinner": he even threatened to<sup>19</sup> become a leech upon the skin of Fisher's next party.

It was in this nostalgic mood that he read aloud to his mother and sister from Longfellow's new poem Evangeline, published the previous year. Clough himself was reading the Iliad at the same time; the varied rhythms of Homer, and the smooth, largely dactyllic, "hexameters" of



Longfellow, made a startling contrast, particularly to Clough. The possibility of reproducing classical metres in English was a hotly debated question in the eighteen-forties. English hexameters faced particular hostility, for Jeffrey had long since fulminated fiercely against them in the Edinburgh Review, and even the progressive J.S. Blackie seems to have agreed with Jeffrey, that English hexameters were strictly impossible. <sup>20</sup> On the opposite side, there was a movement to imitate the German 'facsimile' translations of the classics, which attempted to reproduce the form as well as the meaning of the originals: this had recently inspired English hexameter translations of Homer by Shadwell (1844, favourably reviewed in the Westminster Review in March 1845); there had been another hexameter translation of Homer in Blackwood's Magazine in 1846; and a group of Cambridge classicists had produced a volume of hexameter translations from other classical and German originals. <sup>21</sup> This debate about classical metre in English verse was one in which Clough was already committed. While he felt that most modern hexameters were unsatisfactory, he had already attempted 'facsimiles' of other classical metres and he had done so on a theory which attempted to reproduce a supposed separation of quantitative metre and speech stress, <sup>22</sup> rather than making them coincide as most modern hexametrists were doing. Clough was committed, not merely to attempting classical metres in English, but to a verse-theory which specified that accent and quantity should occasionally clash. Small wonder, then, that Clough should have been provoked into unplanned composition, by the smooth regularity of Longfellow's Evangeline, which took entirely the opposite theory, and 'anglicised' hexameter rhythm by making stress and quantity always coincide. As Clough later told J.M. Ludlow at a dinner-party, he had found Evangeline "monotonously regular", and C.A. Brister characterised

The Bothie as a reaction against Longfellow's monotony, soon after its first publication. <sup>23</sup> It is small wonder, too, that both classical diehards and modern hexametrists should have been dismayed, on the publication of The Bothie, by the occasional awkwardness of Clough's versification, when they did not recognise the revisionist theory of classical metre that Clough employed. Evangeline was the provocation, rather than the inspiration or example, for Clough's The Bothie, which seems to have first been conceived as "illustrations of the classical hexameter". The origin of the poem in purely metrical interests explains many of the minor manuscript revisions, which do not seem to simplify the metre much, but which brought it closer to Clough's own theory of the hexameter. It was with considerable irony that Clough later considered adding as an epigraph the words of Horace, "Non elaboratum ad pedem" (" [I sing] in a simple metre").

Metre, however, was only the first impulse to versification. Very soon, this technical interest was joined also by an engrossing subject matter. Perhaps because of the nostalgia he had been feeling for those earlier Highland autumns, perhaps in preparation for resigning, Clough looked back through the diary he had kept over the previous three summers, seeing notes on the Braemar games of 1846, and the pedestrian tours he had made from the parties at Castleton and Drumnadrochet; there were 'epic' or at least 'mock-epic' possibilities in games, and an odyssey, just as there was real-life pastoral in the remote turf-roofed shepherds' huts in which he had lodged. His Highland summers made the perfect modern subject for hexameter illustration. On an undated page in the 1848 section of that same diary, Clough wrote down a list of topics for the poem, and even a draft of some lines, which were included virtually unchanged in his full draft:

The Games & Dinner (& Dance?)

The Tour -

The bothie of Toper-na-fuosich

Oh if your highborn girls only knew the charm, the attraction.

Or high-kilted perhaps - interposed the in anger

Or high-kilted perhaps as once at Dundee I saw them

Petticoats up to the knee or [perhaps] indeed a trifle over

Shewing their thighs were [as] more white than the clothes they  
 trod in the [ir] washtub. <sup>25</sup>

These jottings introduce already some basic elements in the final poem - the main succession of subjects to be treated, with the symbolic ending of love found at the bothie, and the development through the poem from mock-epic to pastoral. The draft lines, later to be used in Book II, as lines 25 and lines 107-111, show that Clough already had the idea for an undergraduate debate between a romantic and anti-romantic view of the Highland lassies. He had settled, too, on the magical bothie name, which was to become through repetition a central symbol in the poem. This is the only extant example of any kind of precomposition plan for a Clough poem, and, brief though it is, Clough's Bothie followed from it without any major deviation.

With the draft-jottings, in the same section of the diary, is another set of much more connected notes, which show Clough using the imagery of pastoral escapism to discuss his own situation in that 1848 autumn:

For lowly shepherd's life is best. Better is it idly to follow one's own fancy, the leading of one's heart & the instinct of the inner sense than in a seeming industry be respectable and fill one's purse, do one's duty and eat, drink and be drunken: turn through long days the handle of a mill that grinds no corn; and die the death of the theologian, saying, as he said, *vita. Vitam perdidit operose nihil agendo.*

Only should one want to marry, and should one wish for children.

The Vagabond is homeless; and the prophet is a vagabond.

Desolate old Age is sad, and Spiritual relation precarious,  
and -

"male and female created He them".

"Thus was my heart grieved, and it went even through my reins. So foolish was I and ignorant; yea, even as a <sup>26</sup>beast before thee. Nevertheless Thou art always by me -".

These notes are characteristic of Clough in their linking of a romantic idealism ("the instinct of the inner sense") with a satiric disdain for conventional respectability, a sense of the constraints of real life ("should one wish for children"), and a semi-mystical use of the Old Testament. The Clough who resigned from Oriel and saw through mere respectability, was the same man who recognised the homeless-vagabond status of the prophet. It is from such complex attitudes that The Bothie grew, and we misread it if we simplify the complexities Clough was feeling, and which he embodied within the poem.

The diary, important though it is as evidence for Clough's pre-planning, can only show us hints of Clough's mind as he began to write the poem. It is a big leap from that to a recognizable manuscript version, yet that is the next, very quick, stage. Clough had gone to Liverpool on September 7, and presumably did not start on the poem immediately: he was there for about three weeks, before going to Oxford. The epic simile of dawn breaking over a great city, one of the last sections of the poem (IX, 82-107), seems to come from this relatively brief time in Liverpool. Between October 9 and 14, he was visiting his clerical uncle Alfred at Braunston, in Northamptonshire, and after that returned to Oxford, having a consultation with the Provost of Oriel, and submitting his written resignation from the

Oriel fellowship. Yet, by October 23, he could write to his sister Anne that the poem would be "out in ten days".<sup>27</sup> It was a sanguine estimate, but it must mean that by then a finished manuscript had been produced.

The extant manuscript, now at Balliol College, appears to be a first extended draft.<sup>28</sup> Evidence which suggests this is: (i) that it includes many alterations of phrasing to avoid metrically incomplete lines; (ii) that occasionally blanks have been left in a line, awaiting later completion (e.g. at I,49, for "croupier"); (iii) that the names of several characters had not been settled (e.g. Arthur has at first the surname Fawsley, while Lindsay is sometimes Audley and sometimes Moreton); and (iv) that Clough has deleted good earlier passages in the manuscript and incorporated them in the regular sequence a little later on, presumably as he began to see the possibilities of a substantially longer work. The manuscript is closely written with many alterations on twenty sheets of pale-blue paper, and forms a basic draft of Books I-III of the poem. One of the sheets at least may have been recopied during the process of first composition, because three lines occur both at the end of sheet c and at the beginning of sheet d. There are also signs in the manuscript that Clough elaborated his ideas for the poem as he was writing: for instance, Hobbes's famous extended analogy between the ideals of female and architectural beauty was drafted on a separate piece of paper, not in the main sequence of composition, where there is only a brief note inserted at II,131 to draw attention to the extra material, "vide alibi Hobbes loquitur".<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps one reason for the relative fluency with which Clough could compose, at any rate the first book, was his reliance on classical parody for the form, and on his own memory for the detailing. The



list of characters from the reading-party can have posed few problems once Clough got started on it, for the undergraduates were modelled on those Clough had known.<sup>30</sup> Many of the details of the dinner were based directly on a dinner given by Macdonald of Glenaladale at the Glenfinnan Inn, during Clough's 1847 reading party, and such characters as the visiting English guardsman were taken from Clough's observation then.<sup>31</sup>

Some of the little jokes which make up the playful texture of the opening books were transcribed from memory too. For instance, on the reading-party of 1846, one of the undergraduates had had a gift for phrase-making, and was nick-named "Slogan", providing the model for Lindsay "the dialectician".<sup>32</sup> The joke about the "perpendicular hill", in line 3, comes directly from the guide-book Clough had used, Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland.<sup>33</sup> Many of the detailed differences between manuscript and proof show how Clough elaborated this playfulness, as he recopied his draft to produce the printer's copy. For instance, he had first written of adolescence as "hobbadihoyhood" (II, 42); only later did he elaborate this to "hobbadiboyhood". Similarly, the welldressed Airlie was successively described in the manuscript as "the splendid", "resplendent", and "the gorgeous", before Clough hit on the memorable adverb for his tarrying, "May-fairly" (II, 239).

Once or twice manuscript deletions show Clough drawing back from the free expressions of his first draft. For instance, in Hobbes's architectural analogy (after II, 154), Clough had originally included this line among his utilitarian tests of female excellence:

So but the bed be well made, who made it is worthy to fill it.

He deleted the line, however, from his first draft, a kind of self-



censorship long before public or wifely pressures could have been influencing him.

Interestingly as such small alterations can be, the more important changes in the manuscript are those which show Clough working out the developmental structure of the poem. The Bothie is structured on a development of style from mock-epic, to confession in Philip's letters, and on to pastoral love. As Charles Kingsley noted in his review for Fraser's there is "a more serious tone, both of thought and verse, which takes gradually, towards the end of the poem, the place of the genial frolic of its commencement."<sup>34</sup> This is paralleled by a development in the amount and kind of imagery used, from a primarily mimetic, direct-language, verse with only occasional similes, to a much richer, more allusive, symbolic poetry in the concluding books. Some changes in the draft-manuscript show Clough moving passages, and making smaller revisions, to reinforce this pattern of development.

One example of this is the description of the undergraduates' bathing-place, a passage greatly admired by Victorian readers, and one of the most obviously 'poetic' sections of the poem. In the published text, there is a very guide-book-like description early in Book III, 19-48, but that is succeeded by a more idyllic treatment in Book V, 20-30. The pastoral picture works well in this final placing, fitting with the development towards a more pastoral mode for the whole narrative. It is interesting, therefore, that Clough's first drafting of the passage occurs, in a very messy section of manuscript, near the beginning of Book I, following from line 38:

they three were bathing,

There where in mornings was custom, where over a ledge of granite  
Into a granite bason the amber torrent bounded.

One plunging level its course above; henceforth for a mile a  
rapid.

Beautiful was it to gaze in the water; beautiful also  
Through the great granite jambs the stream and the glen and  
the mountain  
Purple with heather not far, with alder and birch beneath it.  
Perfect as picture; as vision enchanting that comes to the  
sightless,

Beautiful seen by snatches, in intervals of dressing,  
Morn after morn, unsought for, still present; they, too, in it,  
Not spectators; accepted into it; transmuted, as truly  
Part of it, as were the cattle laid silent under the alders.

As so often in 'poetic' description Clough's minor revisions shifted the style slightly towards Biblical language, changing 'cattle' to 'kine'. The heavy redrafting in the manuscript shows that Clough found it difficult to hit the right tone for this description, and against it in the margin he wrote "Bk. II". The move would separate the idyllic picture from the primarily mock-epic tone of Book I, and in the proofs it appears at II, 3-5. This placing too was premature, however, for Book II is still largely satiric, and only in his proof-corrections did Clough remove it to Book V, making clear the pattern of changing tone in his work.

A second example shows Clough making similar revisions to clarify the pattern of development in imagery. The description of Adam the tutor (in Book I, 19-24) had originally concluded like this:

Still more plain the Tutor, a grave man, nicknamed Adam,  
Somewhat stiff: but with knowledge and thought and feeling  
within him.

Skilful in Ethics and Logic; in Pindar and Poets peerless,  
 Muffish in Latin, said Moreton, in Greek a noteable dodger,  
 Stuccoed sadly, said Moreton, but truly a brick at the bottom.

It is right in character for "Moreton" (later, Lindsay) to make that kind of joke-extension of the slang-praise 'brick' into an architectural analogy. However, such a brief reference jarred with the more ambitious pattern of architectural analogies that Clough created in the poem: this begins with Hobbes's extended comparisons at II, 131-54, and V, 91-117, continues with Elspie's speeches at VII, 57-72 and 100-108, and concludes with a powerful final symbolic reference (significantly Biblical in syntax), "There he built him a house" (IX, 197). "Moreton's" joke about the stuccoed brick, therefore, obscured a major structuring device in the poem, and fun though it was in itself, Clough had to omit it.

The draft-manuscript for the first three books must have been followed by a fair-copy manuscript to be sent to the printer, for there are many differences between the extant draft and the first proof-version, which also survives in Balliol College library.<sup>35</sup>

Although Clough was already in contact with a London publisher, Chapman and Hall, over the imminent publication of the Ambarvalia collection, he had entrusted The Bothie to a local Oxford publisher Francis Macpherson, the one who had published his Retrenchment pamphlet in 1847, perhaps in the hope of speedier production.<sup>36</sup> Ambarvalia took nearly ten months from first negotiations to publication, while The Bothie took only a matter of weeks.

By October 30, the printers were able to send back the first set of page proofs, and from them can be seen the shape of the poem in Clough's missing fair-copy manuscript.<sup>37</sup> At this stage, the poem

was in eight books, rather than nine. Books I-IV and VI-VIII (corresponding to VII-IX of later versions) were substantially the same as in the published text, and the overall final narrative-structure had been established also. In these books Clough made chiefly local proof corrections. Book V, however, in the fair-copy/first-proof stage was substantially different from the published version, because it followed a very complex narrative scheme. Book IV closes with the news that the hero Philip, who has fled from his first flirtation with the humble Katie, at Rannoch, has now gone to the other social extreme, and is "dancing at Balloch ... at the castle, with Lady Maria" (IV, 212). Book V had started with Philip, under his tutor Adam's eye, courting Elspie at Toper-na-fuosich, a scene which was introduced without any preamble or explanation, and which was then followed by a series of flash-backs, in letter-form, with Philip first expounding an admiration for the cultivated beauty of Lady Maria, and then giving news of his accidental visit to Toper-na-fuosich, and of his growing love for Elspie.

At the first proof-stage, however, Clough introduced one radical revision, in order to simplify this disconcertingly complicated narrative scheme. Like many of his other revisions to The Bothie, the revision was not intended to change the meaning or perspective of the poem, but to make clearer its underlying pattern. Clough split Book V into two, and held back the picture of Philip's courtship of Elspie, formerly the opening scene, for the beginning of the second section, the 'new' Book VI. The discussion of Lady Maria is thus returned to its chronological position, preceding the meeting with Elspie. Clough took the opportunity also to add to Book V a reminder of the reading-party which Philip had deserted, in lyrical descriptions of a Highland autumn

(V, 1-38, and 131-3), and he added also a reply by Hobbes to Philip's praise for Lady Maria (the 'Cathedral' letter, V, 97-124). In both these added sections of Book V, Clough used some material <sup>he</sup> originally intended to come earlier in the poem; by inserting it at this stage, he provided both a natural, and a gently-ironic, counterbalance to Philip's over-enthusiastic arguments, the factitiousness of which is emphasised by their context. Clough still used flashback for the 'new' Book VI, opening with Philip and Adam at the bothie, and only thereafter returning to the scraps of letters from Philip telling Adam of his first arrival there. But there is a major difference in the way the flashback has been used. In the revised sequence, all the flashback relates to the single love-affair, and therefore the narrative order, despite being partly non-chronological, does not cut across the major chronological developments of Philip's love - the three-stage development, from flirtation with the 'natural' Katie, to admiration for the 'artificial' Lady Maria, to love for the natural cultivation of Elspie Mackaye. This three-stage development had already been part of the original narrative, but the alterations at proof-stage made it much easier to follow. Clough wrote on the first page-proofs of the old Book V, "All this must be in 6th book; for the new 5th vide MSS", but this is slightly misleading. What Clough did on the proofs was to re-order the existing material, so as to improve the narrative structure, rather than to provide a wholly "new 5th" book. (He would however have needed an additional manuscript section to make clear to the printer these changes, and to integrate with them the inserted sections.)

These changes were all completed very quickly, for the proofs were returned to the printer on November 1 1848. Clough had asked for a second proof, so that he could check the revisions he had made, and



again he appears to have made some local alterations. Thereafter, the printers seem to have worked fast (the book only needed three-and-a half sheets), and the poem came out within the next two weeks. From the first provocation, in reading Longfellow's Evangeline, to the publication of the finished poem, less than two months had elapsed, yet Clough had, through at least two manuscript stages, and two proof-stages, the chance to repudiate or qualify his poem if he had wished to do so. Instead, one finds, untypically for a poem of Clough's, that the revisions seem to be stages in the emergence and clarification of his original idea of the poem, and fill out, rather than change the pattern of ideas seen in the first diary jottings.

Clough's revision of the poem subsequent to publication also fits this pattern. For various reasons, after 1848, Clough became dissatisfied with certain aspects of the 1848 text. Very soon after publication, he had discovered that the title he had sent out into the drawing-rooms of Britain and America was not only the name of the Loch Ericht cottage, but also an indecent Gaelic Toast.<sup>38</sup> Clough's experience in writing and revising Amours de Voyage, and in writing and failing to revise Dipsychus, made him rather more keenly aware of the difficulty of presenting such diverse opinions within a single poem. When therefore, C.E. Norton was gathering together material for a collected edition of Clough's writings, in America in 1859, Clough took the opportunity to make many small revisions.

When the revised text was eventually published, in 1862, after Clough's death, several reviewers commented adversely upon the changes. R.W. Church, for instance, adjudged them "not felicitous", "even after making due allowance for a natural prepossession in favour of that form [of the text] which has become familiar".<sup>39</sup> An anonymous reviewer



in the new Church and State Review fulminated that:

it is a great mistake for a man at forty to think he can improve a poem written before he was thirty. He may make it more elegant and accurate, but every touch will decrease its freshness and vigour.<sup>40</sup>

But both these reviewers were trying to find evidence that Clough's lapse from orthodox Christianity had led to a poetic failure, and the judgement of W.Y. Sellar, primarily interested in the technical aspects of poetry, probably was a more typical response: "although some good thoughts and powerful lines have been lost ... the book, as a whole, has gained by the omissions", and Sellar concluded that Clough had left "the substance of the poem undisturbed".<sup>41</sup> The revisions of 1858-9 merit close examination, in the face of these conflicting responses, and because they affect, if not the structure of the poem, a very large number of individual lines.

As with Ambarvalia, Clough had kept a copy of the first printed text, into which draft revisions had been put at various times. Now these were transferred to fresh copies, for Norton to send to his printer. Clough changed the poem's title to the made-up and innocuous Bothie of Toper-na-Vuolich, perhaps remembering the mountain Ben Volich which had loomed across from the eastern shore of Loch Ericht. He circumvented some metrical awkwardnesses. He also went through, fairly systematically, pruning the length of the reading-party's debates, and attempting to reduce the relative fragmentariness which been characteristic of the middle books of the poem. As he wrote to Norton, on February 16 1859: "I am getting on with The Bothie acting upon a criticism which seemed to me correct that the letters and sermonizing parts were too long - and least to the point". Two days later, he added: "I may have cut out something which for old acquaintance you

may regret, but the general effect to a new reader will I think be improved - and a reduction in the amount of general disquisition was certainly required<sup>42</sup> so far as I can judge".

The largest cuts were duly made in the undergraduate debates of Book II, and in the exchange of letters in Book IV. The effect of these revisions is to reduce the space in the poem devoted to conflict and to emphasise even more heavily the simplified coherence of the pastoral "happy ending".

Some of the revisions arise from fairly trivial reasons. After II,194, Clough had made a simple factual error in referring to Leontes instead of Polixenes: the difficulties of scansion led him to abandon the hope of satisfactory alteration, and he cut out the lines altogether. The result is that a long passage of highly-wrought analogy between ladies and lassies and carnations and daisies is left without its explicit reference to The Winter's Tale, when only explicit reference can make such debating seem realistic.

Most of Clough's many small alterations, and his cuts, serve to speed up the narrative and make it easier to read. They do, however, make it less rich in texture. In Book IV (after line 51) Clough cut a single passage of over twenty lines which gave Philip's thoughts after he had left Katie: the cut passage expands the otherwise mysterious reference in an uncut line to the "mingling of essence with essence" (IV,42). In the 1848 version, it had been explicit that Philip has been toying with Goethe's deterministic chemical analogy for love, which Clough used later to portray the similar inhibitions of Claude in Amours de Voyage. Clough's cut undeniably speeds up the narrative, but it also reduces the (interesting) complexity of ideas and imagery.

In spite of the number of alterations which Clough made for Norton's

American edition of The Bothie, and their effect in "poeticizing" the poem, as Sellar noted, they do not alter the basic structure of the poem. The story-line is not changed in any way, nor the characterisation. What the revisions do, however, is to obscure for the reader the extent to which Clough's stable, optimistic, poem is built from many of the same elements and insights which had evolved in his more characteristically unstable and fragmentary shorter poems of the Oxford period. The fragments of ideas thrown out during the undergraduate debates; the way <sup>one</sup> character's analogy will be exploded by another character's reuse of it; the fragments of contradictory ideas in Philip's troubled letters; the groping for expression in Elspie's discussions with Philip; above all, Philip's alienated rebuttals of Adam's well-intentioned arguments - all these are a dramatic reuse of just that flux of ideas and perspectives which had been the basis of Clough's unstable lyric poetry.

For instance, when Adam uses the analogy from The Winter's Tale to prove to Philip the value of cultivated ladies (carnations) as well as Highland lassies (daisies), in Book II, 186-96, Philip gets the better of the argument by questioning the analogy, just as Clough himself questions his own imagery in shorter poems. In the 1848 text (after II, 212), Philip ripostes:

Truly I see a good deal in the daisy-carnation fable;

Though I should like to be clear what standing in the earth  
means.

Similarly, though more gently, Elspie is allowed, in Book VII, first to use the image of love as bridge-building, then to extend and qualify it with the idea of the "keystone" from heaven, then to switch to the image of the incoming tide polluting the Highland stream, and then

to qualify that with a further extension of that image, picturing the tide as welcome.

Again, in Book IX, when Adam attempts to warn Philip, in Carlylean language, to trust in Providence the "great Field-Marshal", and do his duty in the battle of life (IX, 41-5), Philip first extends the image, as Newman had done and Arnold was to do, to claim that the battle was a "battle by night", and then repudiates the whole image:

Yet is my feeling rather to ask, Where is the battle? ...

Would that the armies indeed were arrayed, O where is the battle!

Neither battle I see, nor arraying, nor King in Israel,

Only infinite jumble and mess and dislocation,

Backed by a solemn appeal, 'For God's sake, do not stir, there!'

Yet you are right, I suppose ... (IX, 57, 62-6).<sup>43</sup>

The destructive ironies of Philip's arguments with Adam, and of his own internal debates, are those Clough himself had used in his own shorter poems. This poetry of fragmentary, multiple, perspectives played a much larger role in the 1848 text of the poem, than in the pruned-down text prepared in 1859 for Norton, but it is an essential subordinate element in both texts.

Clough himself was apparently aware of the contrast between the relatively coherent 'fable' of the love-story in The Bothie, and the fierce and fragmentary debates in which Philip participates. Adam's description of Philip's brief letters from his Highland odyssey after he left Rannoch is a classic description of the fragmentary manuscript:

... I was fain to reply ere I wholly had read through your  
letter;

And it was written in scraps with crossings and counter-crossings

Hard to connect with each other correctly, and hard to  
decipher;

Paper was scarce, I suppose: (IV. 155-8)

It is in the "scraps" and fragments that Clough makes his biggest cuts in the revisions of 1859, precisely in order to avoid the uncontrolled effects of Philip's spasmodic outbursts, and to emphasize still more the settled and coherent outlook of the basic optimistic fable.

The poem of 1848, however, had been a striking new development in Clough's work simply because Clough had, for the first time in a substantial poem, managed to integrate his lyric hopes with his often destructive scepticism. By providing, on the reading-party, a believable fictional context for debate and satire, and the repudiations of anger, and the reemergence of hope and love, Clough was able to image the discontinuities and continuities of feeling that he had himself experienced, and to represent the sense of flux in ideas and emotions which were characteristic of the eighteen-forties, without losing the great central optimism to which he still held. Behind the constantly changing ideas of Philip, he could present the continuity of character which often eluded readers in his own poetry of fragments. As John Conington wrote in an early review of Ambarvalia, "Mr. Clough ... has shown the public, in his poem of The Bothie, that he is capable of better things than fragments".<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Browning, too, wrote to her friend Mary Russell Mitford, to say that Robert and she much preferred The Bothie to "the other little book [Ambarvalia], with its fragmentary, distorted character".<sup>45</sup>

The relative textual stability of the poem is in part a reflection of the constraining effects of a fairly-complicated narrative: it was

the more fragmentary sections of the poem to which Clough made most alterations for the American edition of 1859, but it was those sections also that he could revise with fewest complications. The central fable itself, in which the new freedom and hope of Clough's decision to leave Oxford are imaged in Philip's emigration and achieved love, admitted of little alteration short of writing a complete new poem. (That, of course was just what Clough did with the Highland lassie theme in "The Lawyer's Second Tale".) It is surely significant, however, that it was the poem in which Clough most controlled, or repressed, his usual tendency to textual fragmentation, and in which his characteristic single-voices were brought into the community of debate and under the judgement of an omniscient narrator, which was to be most generally known and liked by the majority of his Victorian readers.



CHAPTER SIX : AMOURS DE VOYAGE - "A PICTURE OF INCHOACY"

Clough's next major work, Amours de Voyage stands in contrast to The Bothie in many ways. There is, first of all, a difference in the surface structuring of the poem: while The Bothie is presented as a continuous narrative, from a single narrator's standpoint, Amours de Voyage consists of a disjunctive series of letters, representing three different characters, involving many switches of mood and perspective, and having only the briefest of non-narrative editorial frames. Then, while both poems are autobiographical in genesis, there is a difference in the time-focus in which Clough sees his source-experience: The Bothie is focused backwards to the undergraduate reading-parties of earlier years, and forwards to dreams of emigration and marriage, while Amours de Voyage draws on the present political and personal complexities of Clough's experience during the months in which he was producing his first version. The integration, of memory, and of hope, in The Bothie, gives place to the perplexity of present experience in Amours de Voyage. Thirdly, there has always been a difference of reader-response to the two poems: while The Bothie is pre-eminently the poem for non-Cloughians, and received over-whelming favour from late-Victorian critics (and publishers), Amours de Voyage has always been the favourite poem of Clough addicts, who find in its multiple ironies and its anti-romantic conclusion a reality that the exuberant optimism of The Bothie can seldom match.<sup>1</sup>

There is a marked contrast, too, in the story of how each of the two poems was composed. The Bothie, though Clough used more than one draft to evolve and clarify the structure of his poem, was essentially the product of a single brief period of his life, and that, moreover,

a period in which one single purpose - the principled resignation of the Oriel fellowship - over-rode all other problems. The textual history of Amours de Voyage was both longer and more tortuous. It was begun in 1849, while Clough was in Rome, and while the myriad practical consequences of resignation were coming home to him; it was reworked later that year, back in London at the uncongenial University Hall, was rewritten at least twice more at widely-spaced intervals, and was eventually published a full nine years after the initial drafting, and then only in a new American periodical, the Atlantic Monthly.<sup>2</sup> Even after that, Clough made more than minor alterations for the projected new American edition of his works. In all, eight manuscripts and two significant printed stages of this work survive, from a composition process that spread through ten years or so.

During so long a period, Clough was able to imagine many different kinds of response to the events and characters that the poem presents, even though his attitude to the central abstract questions which lie behind the poem changed little. The result is that Amours de Voyage shows a complexity, as well as a variety of viewpoint, lacking in the earlier poem. As J.A. Symonds noted, "there is a singular richness in the woof and texture of the poem",<sup>3</sup> and this is at least partly because of the discontinuities of the weaving process. Amours de Voyage, a poem of changing, multiple view-points, is the outcome of multiple composition-stages, and of a changing draft-structure, very different indeed from the relatively-straightforward textual evolution of The Bothie. Much of the richness of Amours grew from this initial instability in the nature of the text: only after much trial and some error did Clough strike the precarious balance of ironies with which modern readers are familiar.

Changes in Clough's own thinking and situation lie behind some of these striking differences between the two poems. When he resigned from Oriel, he had abandoned not just a job and an income, but the inner support (as well as the inner problems) of a defined social role. In Oxford in 1847-8, Clough had been well-known and respected as an energetic young don.<sup>4</sup> It had been exciting to be radical: some of his tutorial pupils, the "intellectual bargees", affected the blue jean clothes of working men, and an Oxford squib had named him as the revolutionary Citizen Clough.<sup>5</sup> Yet by 1849 all this had changed. Clough had turned thirty at the beginning of the year, and was still unsettled in religion, still unmarried, and still without any prospect of a permanent career. His grandiose title as Principal of University Hall, London, represented a real step down from the settled social status of an Oriel fellowship. In politics, too, the optimism of 1847-8 gave place to a bleak detachment, and it is the scepticism rather than the fervour of Carlyle that becomes most evident in his political comments. Early in 1849, Clough wrote to Tom Arnold, who had shared his Oxford enthusiasms, about the French revolution of 1848: "Today,<sup>my</sup> dear brother republican, is the glorious anniversary of 48, whereof what shall we now say? put not your trust in republics nor in any institution of man".<sup>6</sup>

Resignation from Oriel had made a great change, too, in Clough's personal prospects. The Oriel fellowship had been tenable only as long as he remained unmarried, and his resignation, and the splendid eight-roomed flat that was to be provided with his new job at University Hall, set him free to marry if he wished to do so. As was suggested in the preceding chapter, Clough may at one time have contemplated marrying a Highland girl, but he seems also to have been attracted

by Miss Agnes Walrond, the sister of his friend Theodore, and his own friends were still hoping that he might marry her.<sup>7</sup> He wrote to Tom Arnold late in 1848 about the "daily possibility of falling in love."<sup>8</sup> His very freedom to make the permanent commitment of marriage seems to have made Clough more aware of the problematical chanciness of "falling in love", and more inhibited in his thoughts on the matter.

The loss of a role, which followed from his Oriel resignation, was compounded when he travelled to Italy in the Spring of 1849. The single tourist in a foreign community is uniquely deprived of the support of his familiar culture and of familiar habits, and is thrown almost totally upon his own inner resources. As V.S. Pritchett long ago pointed out, Clough in Amours de Voyage became the "poet of tourism".<sup>9</sup> Rootless already in his detachment from religion, from family, and from Oxford, Clough experienced a deeper rootlessness in the lodgings and hotels of a politically-disturbed Italy. He had left England on 4 April 1849, and reached Rome late at night on 16 April.<sup>10</sup> He started out on the guide-books' recommended survey of the classical art and architecture of Rome, but was distinctly unimpressed with Roman grandeur: "the Roman antiquities in general", he reported, "seem to me only interesting as antiquities, not for any great beauty ... the weather has not been very brilliant".<sup>11</sup>

Politically too, Clough was much more detached in his attitude to the young Roman Republic than he had been about the French republic of the previous year. Italy in the eighteen-forties was a group of independent states, under various monarchic governments, several of which had been temporarily toppled by nationalistic revolts during 1848. Rome, the Holy City, had been the capital of the Papal States, administered by the Pope and Cardinals. The Roman Republic had been proclaimed

by Mazzini and Garibaldi, as recently as 8 February 1849, and was not expected to hold out long against the unanimous opposition of the major European powers: soon after Clough arrived, Mazzini himself confided to him that he expected the Republic to fall.<sup>12</sup> Most British visitors were already leaving Rome for the relative safety and stability of monarchist Naples.<sup>13</sup> The French government landed an army near Rome on 24 April, shortly after Clough's arrival; the French General Oudinot attempted unsuccessfully to march into the city on 30 April, and then besieged Rome throughout June.<sup>14</sup> Clough could not but be aware of the social consequences of Mazzini's glamorous revolution, and was shaken by the mob-violence which occurred in Rome in early May, in a way he had never been shaken by English politics during the Chartist period.<sup>15</sup> Clough's attitude to the Republic, like that of his hero Claude in Amours de Voyage, varied during the siege from indifference or fear to warm support: the very variability, the instability, of his responses was significant.<sup>16</sup> By staying in Rome after 30 April, Clough was committing himself to a very shaky cause, and to a real, rather nasty, power-struggle, very different from the radicalism he had talked of in the endowed cloisters of unreformed Oxford.

Even human relationships became more difficult for Clough during his Italian journey. The reduced number of English in the city left Clough dependent on a very few acquaintances - the English chaplain, Mr. Hutchinson; the Americans, William Wetmore Story and his wife; and a new friend, the transcendentalist Bostonian bluestocking, Margaret Fuller. Miss Fuller had secretly married Count Ossoli in 1847, but in 1849 she was living under her maiden name, and ran a military hospital in Rome during the siege. Her marriage did not become public knowledge until December 1849: Henry James reports one incident in which members



of the Story circle were scandalised by Miss Fuller's remaining un-  
 chaperoned with Count Ossoli for a few minutes, while they were inspect-  
 ing the fortifications under his command.<sup>17</sup> Clough saw a lot of  
 "Miss Fuller" during late May and early June. These meetings are  
 understandable when one remembers their common respect for R.W. Emerson,  
 and the lack of other company in the besieged Rome. There is no evidence,  
 or at least no firm evidence, that, unwittingly, Margaret was Mary to  
 Clough's Claude. The two significant journal entries for June 19 and  
 21 - "M.F. impossibile" and "Impossib. bis" - might be taken to indicate  
 that only then had Clough realised that his new friend was married:  
 but equally they might mean that she was unable to keep appointments.<sup>18</sup>  
 Similarly, it is difficult to know what weight to give to the fact  
 that a note of Margaret Fuller's to Clough, written during the seige,  
 was preserved by him, and sent to his fiancée Blanch~~e~~ Smith in 1852,  
 asking her to "be tender to the memory of the good Margaret".<sup>19</sup> Even  
 if Clough knew very much earlier than everybody else that "Miss Fuller"  
 was already the Countess Ossoli, the discovery of her ambiguous social  
 position must have made him ponder the misconceptions which can arise  
 from the inevitable ignorances involved in the early stages of a friend-  
 ship.

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It was in this strange personal, cultural, and political limbo  
 that Clough started writing draft-poems, which were eventually to form  
 part of Amours de Voyage. The first sections of Amours were written  
 with no apparent plan for a substantial poem. Amours de Voyage, like  
 so many of Clough's Oxford poems, re-uses material that had originally



been drafted with rather different intentions. The first drafts seem to have been a series of separate personal direct-voice explorations of Clough's feelings about particular places and events in the Roman siege. They were Clough's own attempt to pin down some of his conflicting feelings, and the impulse to verse can reasonably be linked to the strains Clough was under, and to the therapeutic theory of poetry he recognised as personally valuable. <sup>20</sup> There is no parallel for Amours de Voyage to the notebook-outline for The Bothie, and the possibilities in the subject for a substantial narrative seem not to have come into Clough's writing till a later stage of composition. One might compare the first composition stage of Amours with that of Tennyson's In Memoriam, a series of separate, direct-voice, "elegies", which were only built into the published monodramatic structure several years after composition.

The earliest manuscripts of Roman hexameters represent this first stage, of separate personal poems. One is a notebook (MS. D), which also contains some later drafts, drafts of other poems, the Roman journal, and some important prose notes on problems of ethics and commitment made before and during the Italian journey. <sup>21</sup> The second "manuscript" (MS. B) is a collection of loose sheets of blue paper, similar to that on which Clough wrote most of his letters from Rome: indeed, one of the sheets of this B group was sent back to England to A.P. Stanley, and is now catalogued in the Bodleian as a letter, not as a poetic draft. <sup>22</sup> Probably the two "manuscripts" were written concurrently, and the paper of B, and the other entries in D, make it reasonably certain that both were written more or less at the same time as the historic events they describe. The "letters" which occur in both B and D (e.g. those which became letters I, viii; II iii; and II, vi) were probably first drafted in D, and then B was made as a fair copy from the notebook-draft, to be sent home for safe keeping.

These two groups of drafts include some of the most famous letters which were to be given to the fictional Claude, such as the report on the French attack of 30 April (II,v), and the report on the street violence of 2 May ("So I have seen a man killed", II, vii). It is primarily letters from this stage of composition that would later give rise to such criticisms as that levelled by R.W. Church, after the British publication of the poem in 1862: "We doubt whether a reader obtains one single fresh idea about that siege, which he could not gain from turning to a file of old newspapers".<sup>23</sup> But the drafts also include sections about the religious significance of Roman architecture, and the bourgeois manners of British tourists (later to appear in Canto I); sections about Clough's mixed attitude to the French invasion, and his disinclination to fight for the Republic (later to be used in Canto II); and, in D only, sections of the famous "juxtaposition" argument about the problem of commitment in love (later to appear in Canto III). These sections or "letters" do not form a continuous narrative, nor do they give any clear sense of an addressee; they are rather a series of separate records of Clough's feelings, linked only by setting and metre. There seems to have been some kind of self-censorship at work in Clough's choice of passages to copy from the notebook onto the letter-paper, for the more revealingly-personal letters (those which were later to be III, iii A; III,vi; and III, vii) were not so transcribed, while the more journalistic ones, about the siege itself all appear in the B group. The only exception is a late letter in D, which describes the fall of Rome at the end of June (V, xA), which would have to have been drafted several weeks later than any letter transcribed for the B group.

None of these early drafts contain any<sup>clear</sup> references to the fictional

characters of Clough's later poem. There is no mention of this first stage of Claude, Eustace or Vernon, and only one note of the name Trevellyn.<sup>23 a</sup>

In the section which was to be letter III, xiii of the final version, for instance, D has an early draft, but this includes only lines 268-70 and 286-90, and has no equivalent of the intervening lines 271-85, which refer directly to the Trevellyn family. It comes as something of a shock to those readers of the later forms of the poem, who have been trained to make a careful rhetorical distinction between Clough's own voice and that of the fictional Claude, to discover that it was Clough himself, and not Claude, who wrote:

'Dulce' it is & 'decorum' of course for the country to fall; to  
Offer one's blood an oblation to freedom, & die for one's  
country.

Yet individual culture is also something; & no man  
Feels quite clearly convinced that he of all others is called on  
Or wo<sup>d</sup> be justified even in taking away from the world that  
Precious creature himself.

(II, 30-35).

Similarly, it would appear to have been Clough and not Claude who voiced the damning lines about the imperfections of marriage:

But for his funeral train which the bridegroom sees in the  
distance,  
Would he so joyfully, think you, fall in with the marriage-  
procession?  
But for that final discharge, would he dare to enlist in the  
service?  
But for that certain release, ever sign to that perilous  
contract?

But for that exit secure, ever bend to that treacherous

doorway? -

Ah, but the bride, meantime - do you think she sees it as

he does?

(III, 117-22).

In this earliest stage of the poem, although Clough's self-irony is very evident, the writing appears to be almost painfully personal, and there is no fictional distancing. Some letters were carried through from this first direct-voice loose grouping to the later, more structured, fictional stages, with only the most minimal of changes in phrasing.

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Fairly soon, however, Clough's very sense of self-irony led him to see the dramatic and fictional possibilities of his situation in Rome. He must, too, have begun to imagine how uninvolved correspondents in England (Stanley, Palgrave, Arnold or Walrond) would be scrutinising the flippant tone of the letters he was writing: his letters, after all, would reach England as quickly as any direct news could reach England newspapers. It is this aspect of the situation (the difference between his own writing-mood and his readers' attitudes) that Clough satirized in Claude's letter, imagining how Eustace might later publish their correspondence:

... when you come to publish one day - of course you will do -

Letters and other remains of a youth of unusual promise

Lately cut off in the flower and prime of existence ...

(canc. lines in D, after III. 180).

Similarly, Clough made Claude recognize how little his correspondent

could really check on the truth of his reports, when he appended to the end of the (very factual) letter II, vii:

Do you know, my friend, I have almost a mind after all to  
Make you believe the above is a simple ingenious fiction?  
So, indeed, the truth is, it seems to myself, and really  
It would give you perhaps the truer impression to cheat you.

(canc. lines in A, after II. 216)

The new fictionalisation of the material was born as much of personal insecurity and self-consciousness, as it was of any distant, balanced, stable perspective on events. The fictionalisation involved the repudiation or at least the satirical reduction, of many of the passages in which Clough had earlier attempted the direct expression of his own feelings.

There is little evidence, but one may conjecture that it was while he was still in Rome, during May, that Clough first conceived the idea of an epistolary poem, and that he wrote the "letters" thereafter more or less as events occurred, attributing to Claude an extreme version of his own responses. Certainly, the later drafts in MS.D and in the other notebook draft MS.C,<sup>24</sup> of letters involving Claude or the Trevellyns, are more fragmentary in nature than the earlier D and B drafts, suggesting that they were always intended to be recopied into a larger work.

MS.C has a particular importance in the evolution of the poem, for its drafting presents the first indisputably dramatic, rather than self-ironic, letters. It introduced, for the first time, the Trevellyn daughters, writing letters to their friends, thus giving the reader a cross-check on Claude/Clough's reactions. Immediately these new "voices" are introduced, the ironic distance is increased between the



reader and the original letters, even though few verbal changes were made to them. MS.C includes drafts of only four letters: (i) letter I, iii, with the Trevellyns arriving in Rome; (ii) letter II, iA, with Georgina's indignation that Claude hasn't yet proposed to Mary; (iii) letter II, xv A, with Georgina writing to Vernon after he has scared Claude off; and (iv) the long fragmentary letter III, vA, the earliest of Mary Trevellyn's letters, and the first to switch sympathy to Mary, and to criticise Claude's intellectuality directly. This last draft letter suggests also that at one point Clough intended to make a clear break between his own Roman experiences and Claude's, by sending Claude out of Rome with the Trevellyns to Florence, and to concentrate on the love theme, at the cost of dropping the political theme in the later part of the poem. MS.C, therefore, represents a lively new development in the poem, and one which had important structural repercussions for the parts of the "poem" already written. It was, however, a separate, later, inspiration, not part of Clough's initial idea. The difficulty Clough was to have in fitting together the two ideas of the poem is illustrated by the fact that only one of the C drafts was to be included in his final text, though all of the B ones were.

In fact, Clough seems to have started to copy his separate letters into a new notebook, before he came to this radical decision to include letters from the Trevellyn girls as well as from Claude. The first full-length manuscript, which brings together the groups of separate drafts so far discussed, was MS.A.<sup>25</sup> This manuscript includes an early reference (after line 32) to Vernon, and to the Trevellyn family, but it did not include in its original sequence the first two of Georgina Trevellyn's letters (I, iii; I, xiii): both of these were written on verso-pages, while the normal sequence is on the rectos, at this point in the poem. The earliest 'Trevellyn' letter to be entered in



the main manuscript sequence, is the subsequently cancelled letter II, iA. From changes of this kind, we can see that it was in the process of composition that Clough discovered the weaknesses that went with Claude's sensitivity, and that only then did he decide to allow a dramatic counterweight to the reader's primary identification with his "hero". The kind of judgement of Claude which his own letters can imply must be immensely unstable when such radical changes of the context of judgement can be introduced.

Similarly, the manuscript sequence in A suggests that it was only during composition that Clough decided to break his story into cantos, by adding the "editorial" elegiacs. The Epilogue to Canto I, and the Prologue to Canto II, were both late insertions into the manuscript, while the elegiacs at the end of Canto II, though much redrafted in A, were part of the original writing-sequence. In A, as in all forms of the poem up to 1858, the poem consists of four cantos, not five, Cantos IV and V running together into a single unit. The insertion of the extra mid-poem elegiacs is evidence of Clough's desire to provide, at least intermittently, some ordered, poetic, perspective on the unstable ironies of the basic narrative and its conflicting voices. <sup>26</sup>

Apart from the clue given by out-of-sequence letters, the dating of particular drafts and revisions in A is extremely problematical. The concluding lines of the poem state that it was written "in a Roman chamber, / When from Janiculan heights thundered the cannon of France": the French forces captured the Janiculan heights, as a site for their siege-guns, on 21-22 June 1849, and it was only eight days afterwards <sup>27</sup> that the Republic surrendered.

This suggests that Clough was writing the poem in Rome during the siege, and while the statement may be general rather than exact, some

confirmation is also provided by the fact that the first notebook forming MS.A is of British manufacture, while the second appears to be foreign.

Not every variant which appears in A, however, is from this second stage of the poem's history. It was Clough's habit, even when he had made a fair copy, to work out later stages of revision on his early, messy drafts. Certainly many of the revisions and redraftings in A are several years later than the first basic fictionalising draft. This can be simply demonstrated by the history of a single phrase in Amours, I,v, line 112, where Claude describes the counter-reformation as "overcrusting with slime" the beauty of Michaelangelo's dome on St. Peter's. "Slime" was Clough's first choice of phrasing, in the original draft in MS.A, and it was unaltered when he recopied the letter some five years later in MS.E: only after that did he revise the A manuscript to read "overcrusted with lies", following that with subsequent revision to "with falsehood" (MS.F, MS.H first form), and "with shame" (MS.H second form, and Atlantic Monthly text), before reverting to his first phrase in his revisions for the American collected edition. It is only because this letter, and phrase, appear in the much shorter, and dateable, MS.E in the unrevised form, that it is possible to deduce an earliest date for the revision of the phrase in MS.A. Most A revisions just cannot be dated accurately at all. The very messiness of the manuscript, however, shows that it became Clough's working copy of the poem for subsequent revisions.

At first, however, he seems, as with The Bothie manuscript, to have produced a fairly clean draft. The A manuscript was still clear enough to be shown to various friends, including Matthew Arnold, by the autumn of 1849, yet the manuscript in its present form just could not

have been followed by a reader who did not know the shape of the poem from the subsequent version. In spite of the difficulties, therefore, it seems worthwhile trying to pick out some general picture of the poem, as it appears in the first draft-layer of MS.A.

This forms a full manuscript version of the fictionalised poem. Nearly all the incidents, and letters, which were to be included in Clough's final text of 1859 were already drafted in some form. It was, however, very much longer than the final text (perhaps twice as long altogether), and it included many more letters than any later version. At first, as we have seen, Clough had begun copying into A a version of the story told entirely in Claude's letters: during the composition of the first canto he decided to include a second series of letters from Georgina Trevellyn, and the first draft of the later cantos already included letters from Mary Trevellyn, thus setting up a second centre of sympathy in the poem, separate from the Claudian consciousness. Indeed, a major difference between A and both earlier and later drafts is the extent to which we are provided with other voices, as cross-checks on the fluctuating feelings and self-deceptions of Claude himself. Unlike later versions, the A draft included not only letters from the characters in Italy, but also letters being sent in reply to Claude's own, by his English clerical correspondent, Eustace, an old college friend who had become a parish clergyman in the North of England. In later versions, it is only through the dubious evidence of irony that we see weaknesses in the Claude of the early cantos, but in MS.A, Eustace writes, quite early in the poem, a letter containing strong and straightforward criticism of Claude's self-consciousness:

All this time you go on indulging fastidious fancies

Simply, I think, for the pleasure of using your critical powers;

This is, believe me, unwise. I suspect that by talking in  
this way

You are destroying that sense of reality plain and undoubting,  
Which is perhaps the supreme providential bequest from our  
childhood.

God did not send us here for freaks and experiments only.

(I, xii A, after line 256)

A letter such as this forces a choice on the reader, of strong identification with Claude or clear rejection of him, very early in the poem. The letters which display the "fastidious fancies" to which Eustace refers so disparagingly are several of them among those which Clough had originally written as direct-voice poetry (I, vii; ix; x, all in MS.B), and the Eustace letter forms therefore yet another instance of that "disownment" of his own utterance which had long been a characteristic of Clough's re-writing.

Eustace's letter in the first canto also serves as a check on Claude's statements in another way. In later versions of the poem, it is in Canto II, letter x, that Claude first uses the word "love" to describe his attitude to Mary Trevellyn, and then only to rebuff, or at least to complicate, the inference Eustace (like the reader) will have drawn from earlier letters. It remains a matter of conjecture whether or not his attentions needed to be explained to the interfering Vernon. But in MS.A, Eustace reports, not his reaction to Claude's letters, but gossip which has reached him in England:

I had heard ~~too~~ elsewhere

How you had fallen in love with one of the Miss Trevellyns.

Which, it did not appear.

(I, xii A, after 256).

The whole balance of judgement on Claude is shifted if evidence "from elsewhere" is given to the reader at an early stage: one may only discount Georgina's reaction as meddling and superficial, as most readers now do, if the choice is between her and Claude's versions of the matter. Once a third voice is offered, Claude is inevitably seen to be floundering, rather than merely careful.

Eustace was given a further three letters later in MS.A. Two of these were part of the basic draft (at III, iv B and at V, viii A), and these, like his first letter give a plain, common-sense response to Claude's self-analysis. Eustace, for instance, responds to Claude's Goethean chemical conceit, of "love" being merely the random chance of juxtaposition, with a straightforward rejection:

Juxtaposition! be shot! an excellent thing I assure you.

Will you refuse your food because God puts it before you?

Ah, and your sages I think know the name of affinity also.

28  
(III, iv B, after line 97).

Similarly, Eustace suggests a commonsense reaction to Claude's failure to catch up with Mary and the Trevellynys, after the siege has ended, in Canto V:

Dearest Claude, well-a-day, what a chapter of troubles! ...

Still at the worst, dear Claude, be hopeful; the people are  
extant.

Do you not know where they live, when in England? Come and  
await them.

What is the hardship, six months at the most will bring you  
together.

(V, viii A, after 165).

These letters of Eustace "place" for us Claude's frantic efforts



and self-reproaches - the last comes, after all, in the middle of one of his most fatalistic sections. The remaining letter (V,i A) seems, however, to have been intended to provoke a less unequivocal reaction. It was inserted after the first sequence of MS.A was written, but is referred to in Claude's reply (letter V, ii, section (i)), and so might be seen as a second thought within the basic drafting-process. The first part of the letter is in Eustace's normal vein; of practical exhortation, mixing Aristotle, Goethe, and Carlyle:

No, I didn't think much of your sceptical letters ...

Yes, I do scorn, as you say, your sceptical vein; for, I know, it Cannot endure the test of a single good minute of Action.

Action involves belief, Inaction such stuff as you sent me.

Act and all will be clear; the Laws of Action are God's Laws.

(V, i A, after 19).

The introduction of "God's Laws", however, signals a shift in the concern of Eustace's letter, from practical exhortation to rather reach-me-down metaphysical argument:

... the Laws of Action are God's Laws.

What they entail to our minds, God's gift and prime revelation.

This is His world, you know, and He didn't make Man to cheat him.

Yet I could venture to say too that even if life be delusion,

'Tis<sup>a</sup>delusion of God, and we need not fear to accept it.

(ibid.)

The parenthetical "you know" gives away the whole of Eustace's argument, and the crudity of his thought when set against Claude's subtly sceptical questionings in his famous reply ("Action will furnish belief, but will that belief be the true one?"), - releases an irony against Eustace's certainties as much as against Claude's doubts. In



this last letter, there is an instability in the attitude presented for the reader, which differs from the simple judgement of the three main Eustace letters previously discussed. The total effect of allowing Eustace's voice to be heard in the poem, however, is to provide rather sensible criticism of Claude, and so to distance the reader from him.

This was the effect also of an extra letter from Georgina Trevellyn, which appears in MS.C and in the main A drafting, but in no later version. In later texts, Georgina is made to reveal herself as empty-headed, conventional, and interfering, thus allowing the reader primary sympathy for Claude throughout the opening Cantos. In the A letter, however, a more rounded picture emerges, which shows Georgina as vulnerable (and therefore more sympathetic), and which also provides some hard fact about the attentions Claude had been paying to Mary:

I am quite vexed, and angry, my dearest Louise with the matter -  
Really, quite out of patience! What can the man be intending?  
Smiles to himself and departs, and comes again the next morning;  
Sometimes does not utter and sometimes talks for three hours ...  
This Mr. Claude and Mary will suit I am sure ten times over,  
Better than ever it's likely will George and your loving Georgina.  
P.S. Yet we, I hope, will jog on well enough to the end of the  
journey.

(II, i A, after line 12).<sup>30</sup>

The last three lines show precisely the kind of "realistic" attitude to marriage that Claude will assign exclusively to men in his juxtaposition letters (see especially III, vi, 117-30), and shows Claude, rather than the conventional Georgina, as impossibly idealistic. This letter, like the even rougher draft in MS.C of a letter from Georgina

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to her fiancé, shows a shift in the kind of judgement Clough implies on Claude's scrupulous ineptitude in his relations with Mary.

A still more important factor differentiating the A version from later texts is the treatment of Mary herself. By contrast with Georgina, Mary is, in all texts, given a basically sympathetic presentation. One of the structuring devices of the finished poem was that Claude's letters were balanced in the first half by the prattle of Georgina, and in the second part by the sincere confidences of Mary; the second part, therefore, allows a questioning of Claude's thought-habits to build up in the reader's mind, a parallel to the self-questioning that becomes acute for Claude in Cantos IV and V. In A, this shift is apparent to a much greater degree, and the early version of the story seems to have been planned as a much more clear-cut disownment of Claude's discursive introspection. Clough's idea was to show Mary herself becoming contaminated by Claude's way of thinking. In the first stage of drafting for the Trevellyn letters, MS.C, Mary writes of Claude:

He has infected me, I believe, incurably also

With his own tremors and doubts and sad paralytical temper.

Mary Trevellyn, in A, becomes a rival centre of sympathy to Claude, and her "submission" to losing him makes him look strangely self-centred. Mary's last letter in the A sequence only survives in a fragment (V, x B), but the A draft of letter V, "vii", which was later revised for letter V, xi, shows how much more developed a picture Clough was giving:

... when I think of this, sometimes I am sadly disheartened.

All the whole world seems changed, and instead of the fields  
and the gardens.



also in the A text of one of the early courtship letters, where a full twenty-line section explores doubts which were sketched in a mere four lines in later versions (I, iv, 83-6). Indeed, the whole poem is much more discursive in A, and relies on a prodigality of new imagery, rather than on a carefully-modulated irony. There are many instances which could be cited, and the 1974 editions provide long extracts from A in their textual notes. Even passages which Clough revised, rather than cancelled, show the basic difference of tone in A. There is, for instance much more than mere clarification behind Clough's revision of the A text of letter II, xi:

There are four kinds, as I take it, of human magnetic attraction.

First, simple repulsion. And second, simple attraction.

Thirdly a third which fidgets and frets and makes you uneasy.

Fourthly, and lastly, another which poises and fixes and holds  
you.

I, on the whole, incline to prefer the fourth to the second.

The very fussiness of this analogy makes Claude appear conceited and ineffectual, while the relative simplicity of Clough's eventual revision - "There are two different kinds, I believe, of human attraction" - allows the reader much more sympathy with him, as also does the switch from the intellectual phrase "as I take it", to the personal one "I believe".

The fictionalisation of the Rome story, and the creation of the fictional character Claude, seems to have allowed Clough to experiment with a daringly-wide range of ideas. Some of these - among them sections which touch on religion - Clough subsequently cut out from the A notebooks, for there are leaves missing from both the third and fifth Cantos.<sup>32</sup> One is not surprised, for instance, that Clough did not

use in his later, published, text, the analogy between revolutionary politics and sexuality, which appears in A:

Politics I will confess it,  
 Yes, my political friends, I recant and acknowledge, have  
 something  
 Generous - something organic, Creative and Art-like in them;  
 Something at some great times which a man forgetting all else and  
 Casting to moles and to bats his idols of thought and self-  
 knowledge,  
 Losing his soul for the gospel, with joy would embrace and  
 would die in -  
 Could as it were with quick fingers extinguish the light in  
 the chamber,  
 Enter the great bridal bed of the combat and conflict of men, and  
 Know not, nor ask, whether morning should ever return to awake him.

(II, i, after 25).

Nor is it particularly surprising that he cut out also this comment:

we are not all eyesight; and life that is lovely to look at  
 Is to the palate too sweet, and too oft disagrees with the  
 bowels.

(III, iv A, after 97).

There is evidence, in a few passages such as these, that prudence, or perhaps prudishness, contributed to his later editing of the poem. But the overall character of A comes not from a few specific images like these ones, but from the quantity of imagery, and the uncontrolled, unstructured, discursiveness to which it gave rise.

The notebooks themselves which constitute MS.A show the rather unplanned character of the later part of the poem. It is intrinsically





Balance the pains, and undo all the vexed ravel of life.

(ibid.)

The judgement, both on Claude ("selfish and vain") and on the poem, is clear enough, and the attitudes are truculent and straightforward, compared with the subtle ambiguities of the later texts. The A manuscript of Amours de Voyage represents a clear disownment of Claude, and a deep alienation in Clough: the textual evidence suggests that it was his own responses to the Roman experience that he had now turned against. Neutral sections, sections satirising and exaggerating Claude's introspection, and sections from other characters directly criticising him, were now intermingled in Clough's manuscript, because they represented two different stages of Clough's own response to his experiences.

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This version was probably still reasonably clear in all but the last sections by the time Clough took up his new duties at University Hall in the autumn of 1849. At the end of October he felt that it was sufficiently complete to be sent to Rugby, where two of his Oxford friends - J.C. Shairp and Theodore Walrond - were then teaching. <sup>33</sup>

The two school masters appear to have read the manuscript with care, for A carries frequent, and often just, marginal comments criticizing diffuseness or what they judged to be failures of taste. For instance, against letter I, x A, is pencilled "seems obscure" and "yes!"; against the extra lines in II, i, after line 25, is pencilled "why parody that of all passages?"; against V, iv, 59 is pencilled "Prosaic" and "Qy is not the absolute introduced too abruptly. I don't clearly see its

meaning. Printer's Devil"; while opposite the excised leaves after V, x B, is written "Do not indulge this". Shairp could also display a keen sense of what was best in the poem, for against the first of the "juxtaposition" letters (III, vi) he wrote "the best letter so far. J.C.S.". Clough in his later revision usually took account of these comments, deleting or amending the letters criticised.<sup>34</sup>

One of the two friends, however, sent also a letter of much more radical criticism, criticism which was only likely to be provoked by the A version of the poem. J.C. Shairp wrote to Clough:

The state of soul of which it is a projection I do not like ... There is no hope, nor strength, nor belief in these; - everything crumbles to dust beneath a ceaseless self-introspection and criticism which is throughout the one only inspiration. The gaiety of manner where no gaiety is, becomes flippancy ... On the whole I regard "Les Amours" as your nature ridding itself of long-gathered bile ... Don't publish it - or if it must be published - not in a book but in some periodical.<sup>35</sup>

Clough's response to this was extremely significant. Quite simply, he asserted the central significance of the poem he had written. It was about the way he had presented the poem, the details of writing, that he had been worrying, not about the central idea of the poem. He wrote to Shairp:

Your criticism is not exactly what I wanted. What I want assurance of is in the way of execution rather than of conception. If I were only half as sure of the bearableness of the former as I am of the propriety of the latter, I would publish at once. Gott und Teufel, my friend, you don't suppose all that comes from myself! - I assure you it is extremely not so ... I believe that the execution of this is so poor that it makes the conception a fair subject of disgust.<sup>36</sup>

As we have seen, this statement about the dramatic nature of the poem is not the whole truth, for Claude's story was half Clough's, at first. The kind of "disgust" which the poem had provoked, however, shows that Clough had over-balanced the poem, in his desire to create a distancing perspective on Claude. If Claude is to be wholly unbearable,

the poem itself becomes rather purposeless. Clough's second letter of response to Shairp shows that his own judgement on his hero was beginning to swing back again, from the extreme revulsion shown in some sections of A. He wrote:

do you not, in the conception, find any Strength of Mind in the unfortunate fool of a hero? I have no intention whatever of sticking up for him, but certainly I didn't mean him to go off into mere prostration and defeat. <sup>37</sup>

There is an ironic distance in this comment which is rather different from the truculent defiance of the Envoi to the A draft. Clearly, Clough's own attitude to Claude was an unstable one, and different attitudes would find expression in the text at different stages. One explanation for the length of time which elapsed between the A draft in 1849 and the first publication of the poem in 1858, is that Clough found great difficulty in balancing up within the poem his various attitudes to the hero.

The history of the poem during these nine years is the record of Clough's attempts to adjust and alter the "execution" of his poem so that the central idea should appear true to his own complex feelings. His working method seems to have been to redraft sections over the top of the basic A manuscript, before recopying the revised work into new clean versions. For several portions of A there are successive layers of revision, and it is this method of using a single manuscript as a working copy which causes that difficulty in dating particular revisions which was referred to earlier. Only where the separate fair copies of a projected revised version survive is it possible to isolate a revision-stage within the A manuscript.

The basic problem for Clough to solve in his rewriting was to clarify his own attitudes to Claude, and to control the way a reader would

respond to them. Clearly Shairp had reacted too strongly against Claude, and had felt that the poem ended too negatively. Partly because of the sheer amount of circumstantial detail, because of the length of letter allowed to Claude, and because of the number of letters from viewpoints other than Claude's own, the "hero" had appeared much more weak and ineffectual, than Clough, on reflection, wanted him to appear. So many speculations, however acute, were bound to seem like frivolous posturing.

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Clough's next isolable revision-stage of the poem attempted to solve this problem by reverting to a plan much closer to the poem's autobiographical origins. Indeed, the fictional name Claude was itself dropped, and the dates of the siege of Rome stand at the head of the manuscript to emphasize the historicity of the feelings expressed. This was MS.E, which was written some time during 1854.<sup>38</sup> In it, many of the elements of "fictionalisation" introduced at the A stage were cut out again: the whole Trevellyn plot went, and with it the letters of both Georgina and Mary. Perhaps almost as significant was the decision to cut out Eustace's letters. As a result, in a very much shortened poem, the focus is returned to Claude himself, and the story is seen entirely through his eyes. Since at the same time the numbered divisions into separate letters were also dispensed with, the effect became that of an extended soliloquy, involving the reader, necessarily, in close sympathy with the hero. Only Claude's own self-irony provides a mild criticism of his detachment from the emotions of art and politics in Rome. Essentially, the intellectual became again a hero, and Clough

gave to this new version the title "Roman Elegiacs and Roman Hexameters", a clear allusion to an earlier intellectual's poetic response to Rome, Goethe's Roman Elegies.<sup>39</sup> The E version was the one that Clough contemplated publishing in an American edition of his poems, projected<sup>40</sup> by C.E. Norton in the mid-1850s, but not actually published then.

There is a striking congruence between Clough's changed social position in 1854, and his changed attitude towards his poem, its hero, and its text. The "black" Amours of 1849, expressed in the A draft, was written when Clough was an isolated bachelor, uprooted from his own culture, disillusioned about politics, and possibly at a time when he felt he had made himself ridiculous by developing an attachment to "Miss Fuller". The result was a poem of extreme alienation, expressed in forceful imagery and language, and ending in fragmentation and failure. By contrast, in 1854, Clough was recently married, well established in a new job in the Education Office of the Privy Council, contracted for a major scholarly undertaking in his revision of Plutarch's Lives, and newly conscious of the high regard in which he was held by the American intellectuals of Boston. The result was a sensitive and intelligent, but much more confident, poem, ending with a hero who had not gone to pieces, but who was notably cool and collected in his attitude to the destructive emotionalism of the Roman siege. It is, I think, significant that much of MS.E, the fair copy manuscript of this version, is written in the hand of the new Mrs. Clough.

The E plan, however, raised its own problems of tone and control. The response of most readers is much the same, to Claude's speculations on the difficulties of knowing whether he is or is not in love: it is reasonably easy in the "courtship" letters to recognize when Clough intends us to sympathise and when to criticise his speaker. But the



nature of Roman architectural styles, or the value of the ephemeral Republic of Rome, are much less predictable symbols against which to assess Claude's character. If one eliminates the Mary Trevellyn plot, Claude has nothing really to become involved in: he is necessarily the intellectual spectator of both art and politics, in a way he need not be of love. As a result of the revisions, his speculations become correspondingly less urgent and more impersonal. The possibility of judging Claude, let alone judging him with any confidence, becomes much more remote for the reader.

One might guess also that after W.E. Aytoun's famous attack on "Spasmodic" poetry in 1854, and after the relative failure of Tennyson's Maud in 1855, Clough would become more cautious about entrusting a whole narrative to a single voice.<sup>41</sup> Quite suddenly, in the mid-1850s there seems to have been a critical revulsion against the romantic monodramatic form which had previously been so popular. It was against this form that Matthew Arnold had been arguing in his 1853 preface, and he himself shared in the reaction when he dropped Empedocles from his collected volume in that year. He pointed out to Clough the similarity between the spasmodic throes of Maud's protagonist, and Claude's soliloquizing: he wrote to Clough about Tennyson,

From the extracts I have seen from Maud, he seems in his old age to be coming to your manner in the Bothie and the Roman poem. That manner, as you know, I do not like.<sup>42</sup>

The sustained first-person, narrative poem, while very attractive to early Victorian poets for the psychological realism it allowed, was an immensely difficult form in which to create any sense of an achieved perspective. Clough's E version was, therefore, an unstable version, in spite of its limitation of subject-matter.



The fourth, and final stage, in Clough's rewriting of Amours de Voyage, attempted to deal with these problems. It is essentially an "editorial" stage, like that in which Clough "edited" his Oxford poems for the Ambarvalia volume, and, like the Ambarvalia re-writing, it is successful just because Clough did not repudiate, but rather utilised, the contradictory stages of composition of earlier years. As in the cycle of poems, "Blank Misgivings ...", discussed in ch. 3; Clough sought a final form which could do justice to the fragmentariness and the self-criticisms of his unedited composition. This fourth stage, then, had to include the sensitive documentary quality of his initial separate drafts, the implied criticisms of Claude's intellectualising of the A draft and the counter-sympathy for Mary included in that version, and yet also retain something of the continuity of Claude's development and the sympathy for it which had been such marked features of the E version. There was a complex balance to be struck between the dramatic multi-voice form of the A version and the monologue of the E version.

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The first manuscript representing this "editorial" stage is MS.F. This is a fair copy of the first canto only, and sets the new pattern of balanced sympathy. Most of the letters were given to Claude, but Georgina's letters were also retained, as was the beginning of the love-plot. Eustace's letter, however, at I, xii A, was dropped, and Claude's letters were also shortened from the A text, though not so radically as they had been in MS.E. F is chiefly valuable as showing that it was only through a gradual process that Clough settled on his final ordering of the letters. The decision to revive the Mary Trevellyn plot, for instance, at first led him to insert much of the criticism of the Trevellyn family very early in the canto (at the end of letter ii):

only a later re-ordering on the manuscript restored the material to its place as a separate letter vi. Similarly, letter I, xi was a later re-insertion in MS.F, and two pairs of letters (vii and viii; x and xi) were in reverse order in the F sequence. Each of these differences of MS.F shows Clough experimenting with changes from the A sequence, and then reverting to his original narrative order. Even though Clough was now seeking a balance between his various versions of the poem, the text was still unstable, and open to revision.

The whole of this fourth, "editorial" stage, including the F fragment, may have been connected with an invitation which Clough had received to contribute to a new American monthly. <sup>44</sup> Certainly, that was the impetus to completion of a full manuscript along the lines indicated in F. On 20 May 1857, James Russell Lowell of Cambridge, Massachusetts, whom Clough had met during the American visit of 1852-3, wrote to tell him about the proposed Atlantic Monthly. He invited him to seek out some English contributors, to become London Correspondent for literary news, and to write an article on the English universities. <sup>45</sup> Most important, he enquired "will you write us a poem now and then?". Clough was then at his busiest at the Council Office, and was also working on the proofs of Florence Nightingale's Notes on ... Hospital Administration, and declined to take up any formal responsibilities for the new venture. However, he promised that he would "if possible <sup>46</sup> send something" after his holiday in July. This was no formal excuse, for from other letters of the period one can deduce that Miss Nightingale's propensity for constant revision and expansion late in the proof-stage must have made negotiations with her printers a very difficult job, and Clough had also been forced to redo some of his Plutarch translation, as a consignment of the copy had been lost in transit to his American

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publishers.

In spite of all this activity, however, Clough did make time during the summer of 1857 to work on a manuscript of Amours de Voyage. In an unpublished letter of September 1857, he wrote to C.E. Norton, who was also connected with the project: "I have sent a second batch of the Roman hexameters by steamer of September 12. If your editor chooses to use them - " <sup>48</sup> It was only a portion of the poem that he had sent, however, and he was still worried about reaction to it by others, and ambivalent about his own judgement upon it. Two months later he wrote to Norton again, "If you see or write to Lowell, tell him to postpone my hexameters sine die if he likes - I don't think they would <sup>49</sup> be popular and have not any great affection or even esteem for them."

Lowell, however, had already decided that he was going to include the new poem. Clough's reputation was substantial in America, at least in Bostonian circles, and he wrote back that the first instalment of the poem was "already in type for the February number of the Atlantic". He pressed Clough for a third instalment to be sent, and enquired "how <sup>50</sup> many fyttes it will be completed in". Clough in his response still expressed doubt about the value of the poem, gave Lowell authority to omit any passages readers might find offensive, and stated that the sections dispatched so far amounted to just half of the full poem, with <sup>51</sup> two more "reports" to be sent before all would "end in smoke". Clearly, at this point Clough still envisaged a four-canto poem, as in MS.A and E, though the pattern of plotting was already established.

Canto III he was able to send off fairly soon after this exchange, <sup>52</sup> by January 15 1858. Canto "IV", however, proved much more difficult, and it was here that Clough made the biggest innovations of what was primarily an editorial stage of composition. He warned Lowell of the

problems he was having, in mid-January: "Part IV is very troublesome,  
 but I suppose it will get done in time to go at the end of next week",  
 but it was three weeks later before he reported to Norton, "I have sent  
 the last portion, which has given me a good deal of trouble ... as I  
 have no time to write now, it was all I could do to send what I had".  
 In fact, he had added quite a number of new letters, and had divided  
 the Canto into two, as in his final text.

The details of this re-editing process are worth closer analysis,  
 as they reveal how carefully he tried to remedy the defects of both the  
A and E versions, particularly in the crucial last cantos. Although  
 Clough sent to Lowell new fair-copy manuscript for the whole poem,  
 only the first two cantos survive among Lowell's papers. On this version  
 (MS.H)<sup>55</sup>, are written the names of the various compositors, and their  
 "stints" of type-setting, making it clear that this was the text used  
 as printer's copy for the Atlantic Monthly.

The manuscript of Canto I is very clean, showing that Clough was  
 utilizing the work that he had already put into its rougher predecessor,  
 MS.F: the later letters of the canto have been ordered as they origin-  
 ally appeared in A, rather than in the F ordering. For Canto II,  
 however, Clough does not seem to have been following an intermediate  
 redrafting, for, quite early on, in the copying of letter II, i, he  
 found it necessary to cancel his first attempt at re-drafting, and to  
 start again with a fresh copy. Towards the end of Canto II, also,  
 Clough inserted two wholly new letters (II, xii and II, xiii), the  
 effect of which was to make the beginnings of Claude's love much more  
 sympathetic. (The love-plot, unlike the art and politics plots, had  
 not previously been redrafted beyond the first canto, for MS.F covered  
 only Canto I, while MS.E omitted the Mary Trevellyn theme.) At the

same time, Clough cut out the immediately preceding letter (II, xi) from MS.H: even in his first drafting of H, he had omitted the rather pedantic "human magnetic attraction" image, and his cancelling of the rest of the letter (lines 268-73), which had shown Claude as relatively detached, fits with his insertion of the two new letters, which make Claude seem more involved with his love for Mary. For this stage of the poem, Clough has played down Georgina and Eustace's criticism of Claude, and has allowed a new sympathy to his role as a lover, similar to that sympathy MS.E had allowed to his role as art-critic, or political observer.

The revisions made to Canto III are much more innovatory, and necessitated the drafting of substantial new material, as well as the careful selection of previously-drafted letters from MS.A. The early part of the Canto, it will be remembered, had in A given several long, "sceptical" letters from Claude, which had tended to reduce sympathy for him, and to divert the reader from Clough's main narrative, to abstract, if related, issues, such as the purpose of the creation, or the perils of various professions. These Clough omitted, focusing the poem on the central love plot. Towards the end of the canto, however, he introduced three totally new letters, and to them he added four more letters, which were revised and expanded from material previously used elsewhere in the poem. The entire sequence, new and revised material together, can be confidently dated as part of the 1857-8  
56 revisions, for it was drafted on separate sheets of paper (MS.G), and one of these is the unused side of an old printed examination paper, dated 27 June 1857. The new draft was at first planned as a single sequence, to follow from letter III, vii, to the end of the canto: subsequently, Clough decided to place the first new letter (III, v)



a little earlier, though the others remained to form letters III, viii-xiii. Two of Clough's new letters were given to Mary Trevellyn, showing her dismay on discovering that George Vernon had quizzed Claude about his attentions, and trying to get Miss Roper to tell Claude that she knew nothing of the matter beforehand. The fifteen new lines which form the central portion of letter III, xii (lines 271-85) give Claude's version of the same events (he felt his "intentions" were being asked about, a neat distinction that has been mistaken for a misprint). This new material substantially strengthens the narrative line, and makes Claude's "retreat" from Mary much more a matter of external interference and less of internal analysis (cf. the rejected portions of letter III, vi, in MS.A, especially the postscript after line 150). The other letters of the MS.G sequence show Claude analysing his recent involvement with Mary, but in direct human terms, rather than as abstract analysis (e.g. in III, xi, especially lines 196-205), and in the third of the new letters (III, x) Claude is allowed a most unClaudian outburst, against precisely those habits of mind which have made him so awkward in human relations, when he writes, "HANG this thinking, at last! what good is it? oh, and what evil!". The portions of the MS.G sequence which were revised from earlier draftings all, significantly, display not the analytical but the poetic and emotional side of Claude's character. They include an unusual concentration of several of the most memorable "poetic" sections of the work, with "Life is beautiful, Eustace" (III, viii); "Mild monastic faces in quiet collegiate cloisters" (III, ix); and "Yes, on Montorio's height" (III, xiii); as well as the long, beautiful, imagined visit to the Alban hills, where the Anio is "falling, falling yet to the ancient lyrical cadence" (III, xi). The three kinds of revision together - the clarification of plot, the rejection of analysis, and the new prominence of Claude's own capacity for emotion - represent



a very considerable shift in the way Clough presents the breakdown and parting of Claude and Mary, and allow a very much closer identification with Claude than had been suggested in the equivalent section of MS.A.

But, as he had told Lowell, it was in "part IV" of the poem that Clough made the heaviest changes in his 1857-58 revisions. The A manuscript for this last section is extremely messy, using both rectos and versos of the notebook for draft-sequences in such a way that the ordering of letters is often unclear. Since this part of the story was so much devoted to the love-plot, there was very little that had had to be re-worked for the intermediate MS.E, which contained only a prologue, a shortened version of letter V, vi, and its own concluding elegiacs. As with Canto III, Clough was faced with making substantial revisions directly from the "black" MS.A version, without much help from intermediate versions, but this time he was working with much less coherent draft-materials.

He tackled this task in three main ways. First, he divided up many of the longer, more meandering sequences of Claude's soliloquizing letters, formalising their presentation as short separate letters or letter-sections. This formalization was carried through also in the division of the old "part IV" into two separate Cantos, allowing the intervention of a controlling "editorial" voice in the elegiacs midway through one of the least controllable sequences of the poem. The evocation of timeless landscape and historic culture in the newly-inserted elegiacs provides a firm contrast with Claude's rather frenetic attitude to travel, and encourages the reader to maintain a control in his sympathy for Claude. Secondly, Clough systematically excised those letters which showed Claude as lost in scepticism. Letter IV, ii B, the many

deleted passages of letter V, v, and the long letter V, x A, all showed Claude as world-weary, talking of himself as a "running-down watch" (IV, ii B, 6). It is particularly interesting that Clough omitted for the 1858 text sections (iv) and (v) of letters V, v, where Claude is deeply moved by an old English psalm-tune, and where he wonders if he could maintain his scepticism on his death-bed, for both show Claude as weak, and at this stage Clough was particularly anxious to preclude such a judgement on his weakness as J.C. Shairp had originally made. This pattern of excisions was helped also by the omission of Eustace's two letters to Claude, which had also berated him for weakness (letters V, i A, and V, viii A). The third major change at this stage grows from the other two. The lostness of the A Claude had been emphasized by a change from clear narrative, to a chiefly "internal" psychological narrative, extremely unclear as to its external events. Now Clough made the narrative-line, including Claude's detailed itineraries through Northern Italy and the Alps, much clearer. Several of the new passages that he introduced in 1858 are narrative sections. For instance, in Canto IV, letter v was completely new and, as well as demonstrating Claude's rather idealistic attachment to Mary, poses his dilemma as a traveller's problem, the choice between returning to Florence, or following Mary into the mountains. In Canto V, letter ii, section (ii) is newly written, and introduces a new stage in Claude's return to Florence, a halt for fruitless enquiries at Pisa. (Section (iii) of the same letter is, in its two clear narrative lines, also new in 1858). Canto V, letter iii, is a new letter devoted to clearing up the exact journeyings of the Trevellyns, and so explaining that Claude only missed them by an unfortunate accident. It emphasizes the irony of his failure also by locating Miss Roper, the Trevellyn confidante, at Lucca Baths

for the summer, so close to Claude's journey from Pisa to Florence; he had by accident passed by the one certain source of information available to him.

These three kinds of re-working both make the poem much easier to follow, and also amount to a partial rehabilitation of Claude, similar to that attempted for the politics plot in MS.E, but partial because Claude is deeply involved in love for Mary, and in this love-plot his acceptance of failure is much more difficult for the reader to accept. Clough wrote two new letters for Claude which express the hesitant hope which he has now allowed him - letter V, viii (where Claude affirms that he believes "in Providence, partly"), and V, ix, with its striking image of life as a railway journey through a dark tunnel, fixed on a rigid line to an unknown destination. It was at this stage also that Clough decided to conclude with Mary's striking and insightful final judgement on Claude:

you see, I know so exactly how he would take it:

Finding the chances prevail against meeting, he would banish  
Forthwith every thought of the poor little possible hope, which  
I myself could not help, perhaps, thinking only too much of;  
He would resign himself, and go. I see it exactly.

(V, ix, 210-214).

There is an ironic parallelism between the endings of Claude's and Mary's last letters, as Claude goes "to Egypt", and Mary "to England". Claude, by simply submitting to Providence, misses his deepest hope.

The chief differences between Clough's three main full-length drafts of Amours de Voyage may be characterized by the very different tone of the elegiac epilogues attached to each one. As we have already seen, the ending of MS.A was bitter and hostile: "There! thou world! look,

there! is the vile dirty face that you show me". MS.E had concluded in a much milder tone, consonant with Clough's own greater optimism in 1853-54: "must we here turn to that England,/ Which it may be, after all, is for its children the best."<sup>57</sup> Now, for 1858, a middle tone was struck, asserting the mixed nature of the experience the poem had narrated (both "evil and good"), and pointing to the historic circumstances of the poem's composition, which would justify it as a document, even if it were to be disliked as philosophy. Concluding with the assertion of historicity ends the poem on a positive note, and plays down the metaphysical questions the poem has raised but not solved. Claude, however, is in 1858 to go on to Greece and Egypt, to the home of still more ancient wisdoms, not to return to England.

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The form of the poem analysed above, as "MS.H" or "the 1857-58 revisions", was substantially that published in the Atlantic Monthly, in four episodes from February to May 1858. Clough sent minor corrections of phrasing to Lowell in letters, and these were also incorporated into the Atlantic text (e.g. at III, 120). In one passage, Lowell went further, and excised four lines (at I, 143-6), which he felt might offend Massachusetts readers, because they parodied an Old Testament passage.<sup>58</sup> The proof correction, of course, was also done by Lowell and the printer's reader, so small details of the Atlantic text cannot be assumed to have Clough's own authority.<sup>59</sup>

It was about this time that Charles Eliot Norton revived the dormant project for a new collected edition of Clough's poems, to be published in America. Clough sent to Norton lists of the corrections of punctuation

and phrasing that he wanted made to the Atlantic text. Many of these are quite minor, and some show that he had looked back at his old drafts in MS.A to emend lines he found awkward in the published text. However, he made some more substantial amendments, in spite of the heavy re-writing which had already gone into the 1858 revision. In Canto II, he restored the letter (xi) about the kinds of human attraction, but revised to have a much more human tone, fitting the greater sympathy for Claude that the final text allowed. In Canto V, he reinserted several sections of letters which take the reader more deeply into Claude's inner feelings and fears (notably V, v, sections (iv)-(vi), and V, viii, section (ii)).<sup>60</sup> Even though this involved the insertion of whole passages, one feels that these final revisions, which Clough sent to Norton in two letters of 24 March and 1 April 1859,<sup>61</sup> are essentially a matter of slightly adjusting the balance of sympathy, towards Claude, rather than radically altering that balance, as in early re-writing. It was from these corrections, and the Atlantic text, that the two posthumous editions of Clough's Poems took their somewhat imperfect texts, and there can be little doubt that, for Amours, we have a version of the poem that fairly represents Clough's considered wishes.

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Amours de Voyage is one of Clough's most heavily revised poems, but it is also one of his most carefully constructed, and one in which he anticipated most fully the ironies and echoes which arise from the interaction of the poem's different voices. The final version of Amours de Voyage does not rest for its success, however, on care or craftsmanship alone. Clough did not impose on his material a single perspective.



Rather, he allowed one tone to be dominant, though constantly qualified and contradicted by other possibilities. What the story of the poem's composition shows is how very closely the final effect rests on the incorporation of originally disruptive ("divergent") material from the revision process. The final picture of Claude's experience rests on a careful balancing-up, and interweaving, of the sympathy asked for in manuscripts B, D, and E, with the disowning irony and open criticisms offered in manuscripts A and C. Much of the final picture of Claude and his restless idealism is built from letters which in their first drafting in A had seemed merely spasmodic, and uncontrolled. The final text juxtaposes elements from various composition-stages, representing varying attitudes, and it gives a depth and reality to the final Claude-persona by presenting them all as in some sense true. This "final" poem still contains the kind of exploratory fragments which are characteristic of the early composition-stages of Clough's poetry. It is perhaps significant, with regard to the "unstable" form of the final text, that Clough himself remained uncertain about how readers would react to his poem, even when published.

62

The power of the published Amours de Voyage stems from this close relation between the composition and re-writing process and the structure of the poem itself, with its disjunctive series of letters, and with its frequent changes of voice and tone. This structure images Clough's own idea of the re-thinking process, and the idea of poetry which Clough had developed in Oxford, and especially in the Ambarvalia selection. The structure and the history of the text together bear witness that Amours de Voyage is a poem about the thinking and re-thinking of problematical ideas and ideas of the self. It is the art of revision which creates the very complex treatment in the poem of the difficulties of knowledge



and certainty; and the composition process, in this instance, both exemplifies and reinforces Clough's understanding of the process of learning, and the gradual deepening of belief. If, as R.H. Hutton suggested, Amours de Voyage is a perfect "picture of inchoacy"<sup>63</sup>, it is, I would argue, because in it Clough had the courage to follow through the implications of his own experience of the provisionality of both thinking and writing, getting beyond a simple repudiation of partial experience, and working towards the "picture" or settled image which he could with time discern within the "inchoacy" of successive new perspectives.

CHAPTER SEVEN : COMPOSITION AND RE-WRITING IN DIPSYCHUS

Clough's Dipsychus would appear to provide the ideal test-case for any study of textual instability or of the re-writing process. Written initially during a visit to Venice in the autumn of 1850, it went through three separate revisions, each of which began as a clean fair-copy; yet Clough himself never published the poem, and the several manuscript versions he made are all incomplete, leaving unclear even such a fundamental matter as the ordering of the scenes.<sup>1</sup> As with Clough's earlier dramatic poem Adam and Eve, all published editions of Dipsychus are to some extent editorial reconstructions.

To complicate the critical question further, the explosive mixture of subjects treated in Dipsychus - sexuality and religion - has led to considerable distortions in the normal editorial process. The early scenes of the poem (scenes II-IV) concern Dipsychus's reluctance to take advantage of the prostitutes of Venice. Clough himself seems to have felt rather uneasy about these scenes, for not only did he ask his fiancée in 1852 not to look at the notebooks concerning the poem, but he also, in his final revision, cut out the bulk of the most explicit section, scene III.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Clough, who was worried by possible critical hostility to the poem's free treatment of religious questions as well as by the prostitute scenes, at first considered Dipsychus "too unfinished to be published among" the poems, though she thought it "interesting as a record of many of his thoughts and feelings" in the London period.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, the poem was first printed among Clough's Letters and Remains,<sup>4</sup> bracketed by the religious debate of the two "Easter Day" poems. The text, both for 1865 and for formal publication in the Poems and Prose Remains of 1869, followed Clough's omission of scene III

and made further bowdlerisations. The first Oxford edition of Clough's Poems, in 1951, re-edited the poem, but was planned while Clough's daughter Blanche Athena was still alive, and introduced only a selection of lines from the questionable scene (under the heading "Scene IIA"),<sup>5</sup> though the rest was printed in the notes. Such a compromise could not, of course, go long unchallenged, and R.M. Gollin subjected the Oxford editing of Dipsychus to sustained criticism as "not so much conservative as timid".<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, the second edition of the Oxford Poems has included a full text of scene III, to avoid the charge of prudishness. Freedom as much as caution has caused textual difficulties, however, for the Oxford text of scene III has had to be taken from the "second revision" of the poem, while the scenes which precede and follow it are taken from the "third revision" which Clough made when he had decided to omit Scene III, and this procedure lends to the duplication of lines between scenes in the new edition, even though no such duplication occurs in any single Clough version.<sup>7</sup> The ordering of scenes V-VIII in the Oxford edition has also been a matter of editorial conjecture as the "third revision" brought forward scene V, but did not indicate what consequent re-ordering from the earlier revisions Clough wanted for the other scenes: the printed order occurs in none of the manuscripts, and there is no clear internal evidence. The modern, uncensored, text of Dipsychus, just like Mrs. Clough's censored version, is an unsatisfactory compromise, conflating various different stages in Clough's revision of the poem.

If there is an uncertainty about the text and structure of the poem, there is a much greater instability of tone, even in sections for which Clough left a late draft. Some of this switching of tone is deliberate, and carefully calculated: for instance, the Spirit follows up his

words of comfort to Dipsychus,

Fear not, my lamb, whate'er men say,

I am the Shepherd; and the Way (XII, 214-5)

with a satiric quotation in the very last lines of the poem,

Little Bo Peep, she lost her sheep! (XIV, 56 and 85).

This ironic linking of Biblical assurance and the mythology of the nursery is typical of the complex multiple perspectives of the poem.

Professor Houghton, indeed, has argued that such a kaleidoscopic effect is basic to the achievement of Dipsychus. He writes:

the modern reader, expecting to study a difficult poem and accustomed to unexplained relationships [between sections of the text] will accept the initial hazard... though the separable parts are less deviously related than they are in a poem like 'The Waste Land', they work in the same way, by juxtaposition and symbolic implication. 9

This is an argument which applies best to the earlier, more satiric, scenes where the switching between speakers and modes is frequent, and where different verse forms relate fairly consistently to differences of tone: Dipsychus's romanticism is expressed through lyric, and his self-questioning through blank-verse, while the Spirit's jaunty reductionism is presented in octosyllabic couplets, with a Byronic ingenuity of rhyme.<sup>10</sup> In the later scenes, however, Dipsychus is allotted uninterrupted soliloquies of up to one hundred and fifty lines of blank verse at a time, and the sense of any ironic distance is very difficult to maintain. The speeches invite sympathetic identification, rather than detached amusement, from the reader, even though the same elements of exaggerated idealism, defeatism, and self-dramatisation, are present, which sometimes seem to signal a satiric intent in his earlier speeches.

Even in the earlier speeches, short though they are, it is often very difficult to know whether Dipsychus is to be taken as a tortured Faust-like hero, or as a wicked parody of intellectual weakness. These

lines from scene III, for instance, demonstrate this instability of tone:

O moon and stars forgive! And thou, clear heaven,  
 Look pureness back into me. O great God,  
 Why, why in wisdom and in grace's name,  
 And in the name of saints and saintly thoughts,  
 Of mothers, and of sisters, and chaste wives,  
 And angel woman-faces we have seen,  
 And angel woman-spirits we have guessed,  
 And innocent sweet children, and pure love,  
 Why did I ever one brief moment's space  
 To this insidious lewdness lend chaste ears,  
 Or parley with this filthy Belial? (III, 14-24).

To a Victorian reader, the first line of this passage might seem to echo the profuse star-imagery of P.J. Bailey's Festus (1839), but such an echo would not in itself <sup>point to</sup> any satiric intent on Clough's part. 11 Such words as "pureness", "saintly", and "chaste" in the middle lines are not self-evidently sarcastic. It is only in the last two lines that the parodic exaggeration of Dipsychus's attitude makes inescapable a detachment from his anguish. Much of the passage could equally well have been drafted as an invitation to sympathise with Dipsychus. The instability of tone becomes at least partially explicable when we realise that the speech was not included in the original draft of the satiric scene III at all, but was written later in Clough's rough notebook, among the more sympathetic speeches in scenes IX and X, and that the last three lines were drafted separately, or at least on a different <sup>12</sup> page, from the earlier ones. When Clough brought these various sections together, he did not achieve a diffused tension between his



different attitudes to Dipsychus, but, rather, an awkward juxtaposition of lines which the reader can only bring into coherence by straining to take the straight "poetic" middle lines as a bitterly sarcastic parody.

During the recent revival of interest in Clough's poetry, opinion on Dipsychus has been remarkably various. Lady Chorley has described it as "the climax of his richest creative period"; Masao Miyoshi has claimed that in it "the poet's irony achieves its finest expression"; Wendell V. Harris places it at "the apex of Clough's technical achievement"; while Professor Houghton calls it, simply, "Clough's masterpiece".<sup>13</sup> Even with his praise, however, Harris argued that the poem had "weaknesses and imperfections", and that there was something "grievously awry in the handling of the latter half of the poem",<sup>14</sup> while Robin Biswas has taken these criticisms still further. Dr. Biswas, referring to "the unregulated polymorphousness of Dipsychus", to its "spasmodic excesses", and to its "grape-shot verballity", claims that the poem is a "failure", which "uncovers a crisis it cannot cope with", Clough's own crisis in identity.<sup>15</sup> This variety of opinion seems to be between those who see the instability of tone within the poem as an ironic intention,<sup>16</sup> and those who see it as evidence of lack of control.

The textual history of Dipsychus can illuminate some of these dark questions about the structure and tone of the poem, and can suggest also some aesthetic, rather than external, reasons why Clough never put the poem as a whole into publishable form. In the rest of this chapter, I shall discuss the various separate ideas from which the poem emerged, which include a very marked self-consciousness about re-writing, and shall analyse the development of the poem in Clough's first rough notebook; I shall look at the changes of tone and sympathy



which Clough introduced as he redrafted the sections into a continuous sequence; I shall argue that we can best discover Clough's Dipsychus in the intermediate drafts of the poem; and I shall suggest that his revisions show Clough feeling increasingly constrained by the Faust-framework he had borrowed. In the end, it was Clough himself who abandoned that framework in his final "re-writing", when he prepared separate sections of the poem for inclusion in the American edition of his works.

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The first drafting of Clough's Dipsychus dates from a visit he made to Venice in the autumn of 1850.<sup>17</sup> The journey was evidently a last-minute idea (in July, he had told Emerson he was going to "Germany or Switzerland")<sup>18</sup>, and it forms the least documented period of Clough's adult life.<sup>19</sup> His first year at University Hall, London, had not been a particularly happy one, for numbers were low, he felt "no confidence" in his tenure as Principal,<sup>20</sup> and, as Mrs. Clough noted, "the want of definite and continuous occupation left his mind free to deal restlessly with the great insoluble problems of the world, which had for him so true a vitality that he could not dismiss them from his thoughts".<sup>21</sup> A letter he wrote to J.C. Shairp shortly before setting out for Venice shows something of these speculations:

It continues to strike me how ignorant you and I and other young men of our set are. Actual life is unknown to an Oxford student, even though he is not a mere Puseyite, and goes on jolly reading-parties ... Ignorance is a poor kind of innocence. The World is wiser than the wise and as innocent as the innocent: and it has long ago<sup>been</sup> found out what is the best way of taking things ... Let us not sit in a corner and mope and think ourselves clever for our comfort, while the room is full of dancing and cheerfulness. The sum of the

whole matter is this. Whatsoever your hand findeth to do,  
do it without fiddle faddling. <sup>22</sup>

There is in this letter a deep bitterness, repudiating the ultimate idealism both of "Why should I say I see the things I see not?", and of The Bothie. The scorn of "fiddle faddling" links with the bitter irony shown against Claude in the MS.A version of Amours de Voyage, which also dates from 1849-50, and sets the tone for the first drafts of Dipsychus.

There have been two suggestions put forward as to the origin of the new poem. Some of the early reviewers saw it as starting in just this kind of self-repudiation, with the Spirit's damning criticism of "Dipsychus's" poem, "Easter Day at Naples". <sup>23</sup> That first scene, however, was not among the first to be drafted, and other and more recent critics have described the poem as starting with the initial idea of a modern version of Faust. Lady Chorley, for instance, suggests that the "key" to the poem lies in a note in Clough's 1849 (Roma) Notebook: "Why is it ... Faust and Mephistopheles even are not quite expressive to us, we want to be told that they mean contradictory elements of our own unity". Professor Houghton sees the "source" for Dipsychus's character in a passage from Goethe's Faust, though he thinks that Clough had recognised the basic situation of the poem much earlier, in a letter of 1846. <sup>24</sup> On this view, as his friend William Allingham wrote, Clough made from Faust "a mould, as it were, and poured into it the reflections, guesses, theories, and beliefs that were occupying him, or had occupied him". <sup>25</sup>

Examination of Clough's first rough notebook, however, shows that parts of the poem had been drafted as separate lyrics before the frame or "mould" for the poem had been thought of, and suggests that the

debate form of the poem had its origin in Clough's recognition of the variability of his own feelings, not simply in an imitation of Goethe's Faust. Indeed, if a model is to be sought for the poem, Goethe's "Venetian epigrams" of 1790 seem as relevant as his Faust. The worldly bantering tone, the prostitute theme, the attitude to marriage as second-best, even the disparaging use of the Biblical image of the sheep - all these occur in the "Epigrams".<sup>26</sup> There is also in the "Epigrams" a striking anticipation of Dipsychus's Gondola song (scene V); Goethe compares the gondola to "the cradle which gently rocks one to sleep", and the box on top of it to a coffin, concluding that "Just so, between cradle and coffin we sway and float, carefree, along the Grand Canal of life".<sup>27</sup> The "Epigrams", like much of the early drafting for Dipsychus, take the form of loosely-grouped short lyrics, not of a sustained monodrama.

The first drafts of material for Dipsychus were made in the 1850 (Venice) Notebook, and they begin without any dramatic framework at all, simply with an untitled lyric, to which Clough has later added the head-note "Song for Meph". This was the "Atheistic song", later to be used in Scene VI:

'There is no God', the wicked saith,  
     'And truly 'tis a blessing,  
 For what he might have done with us  
     It isn't pleasant guessing.'

'There is no God', a young man thinks,  
     'Or if indeed there may be,  
 He surely didn't mean a man

Always to be a baby' (VI. 154-162).

The primary reference is to Psalm xiv, 1, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God", and Clough's first line is in standard metrical-psalm metre: the extra syllable, however, which he added on the second and fourth lines livens up the rhythm and changes the tone to one of playful irony. The idea is almost infinitely extendable, and eight lines from a later notebook which Professor Mulhauser prints as a separate poem, would seem to be additional stanzas for this lyric. 29 The poem's irony focuses on the illusion of religious belief, but the theme of sexuality is also present, in lines 178-81 where belief is connected with the false attitudes of love and sexual guilt.

In the next section to be drafted, Clough switched from this stanzaic pattern to a freer rhyme scheme, taking up the same phrase, "There is no God", and treating it more subjectively. This section also originally had no heading to link it to the Faust-drama. Right from the beginning of this second section, the sexual theme is emphasised, much more abruptly than in the version used later in Scene VI:

Ring ding there is no god, ring ding  
 There is no God come dance and sing  
 There is no God - ring ding a ding  
 Thou pretty maid who trippest along  
 Come to my bed it isn't wrong  
 And bring the bottle - sing the song  
 Alas - alas - dong, dong, dong, dong. 30

In the draft of this section also there occur lines which, in their disownment of religion, seem much more like the worldly Spirit than the anxious Dipsychus:

Come to my bosom, O my sweet  
 For guilt is nonsense, sin deceit

Ere death end us, let us meet  
 Have we not trembled long enough  
 Because of that religious stuff? 31

The only reference in the section to the Faust-framework is in the couplet given in the Poems notes as "after line 7", which refers to "Mephisto dear": in the notebook these lines are squeezed in at the top of a page and were clearly a later insertion.<sup>32</sup> These first two draft-sections of Dipsychus show that, like Amours de Voyage, the later poem began as separate poems, with little obvious distancing of the speaker from Clough himself.

These sections are followed, again without a heading, by lines which were later to form the nucleus of one of the Spirit's speeches (VI, 130-53), but which here we might think were Clough's own response to "Ring, ding, there is no God":

Not so bad either - but enough,  
 Thinking about this sort of stuff  
 Is really bad for the digestion. 33

The rest of the Spirit's speech is drafted around these lines, while between two lines of the drafting is written the germ of the Faust-idea, in the jottings "Inter-duo" and "Mephisto". The notebook arrangement, therefore, seems to suggest that Dipsychus had its origin in the dialogue of Clough's mind with itself, and that the idea of re-using the Faust-Mephistopheles debate only arose while Clough was writing.

Immediately on the next page there begins a straight dramatic drafting, with character-headings "Mephisto", and "Faustulus", in an early version of the prostitute scenes, II and III. In this, Clough seems to have had the most trouble with the speeches of Faustulus, for

he found it necessary to break them up with additional material for Mephisto. For instance, Faustulus's shocked distaste at the prostitutes (later used in III, 92-5), first received only a brief response from his companion:

'Fore God, much more severe than true:  
 34  
 By candlelight I find they do.

Subsequently, on the facing verso-page, Clough expanded this with some of his bitterest lines:

O fiddle faddle, fal lal lal,  
 By candlelight they are-pas mal.  
 Better and worse of course there are,  
 Star differs (with the price) from star,  
 But in the dark nothing comes amiss  
 35  
 Excepting smell and syphilis.

The fourth line here is an ironic re-writing of The Bothie, where the tutor Adam has been discussing the difference between ladies of varying social rank, and asserts that inequality is the hall-mark of the natural order: "Star is not equal to star".  
 36

Similarly, on the verso-page facing Faustulus's wish that sexuality was simply a phase of masculine development (later III, 64-70), Clough inserted a counter-assertion from Mephisto, completing a broken line in the original speech:

Stuff!  
 The women like it; that 's enough,  
 The pretty creatures come & proffer  
 The treasures of their private coffer  
 37  
 And I refuse not a good offer.

Similarly too, the striking lines of Mephisto, slyly adducing



Coleridge in support of an anti-idealist argument (later III, 143-7), were a "second thought", being cross-written over the same facing page:

'Tis done, too. Nor can God's own self,  
 As Coleridge on the dusty shelf  
 Says in his wicked Omniana,  
 Renew to Ina frail or Ana,  
 Her once rent hymenis membrana.

38

These three examples show how, consistently, in the first Faust-like scene, Clough produced the best Mephisto speeches only as "second thoughts", in repudiation of a first, more idealistic drafting. In this first version, Clough seems consciously to have been bringing forward the Mephisto voice, and breaking up Faustulus's internal debate into a series of shorter exclamations.

The scene was brought to a conclusion much more rapidly than in later versions, by Faustulus beginning an apostrophe to the unnamed girl, and the Spirit assuring him that he need not declare love for her, as he will never see her more than once:

F. Sweet [?Christine] -

M. Come don't be a bore

You've not a chance to see her more.

39

Exeunt

After this abrupt ending, Clough drafted further expansions for the speeches of both Faustulus and Mephisto, and also drafted on the facing page a much more realistically-imagined exchange to follow from the original conclusion, again giving the last word to Mephisto's scorn:

M. For God's sake carry out your creed,

Go home & marry & be d—d.

I'll help you.

F. You!

M. Oh, yes, don't scout me. 40  
I know you'll ne'er propose without me.

This first draft for the prostitute scene shows Clough writing freely, but fairly casually, within the dramatic form, and recognising the need for substantial re-writing as he proceeded. The extraordinary thing is that he continued throughout the rest of the notebook to work on with much the same free-association method: lyrics, dramatic scenes, and blank-verse soliloquies are intermingled in the notebook, with little or no relation to the later ordering. In the ten pages, which follow the prostitute scene, for instance, there are successively: some internally-rhymed hexameters; the Spirit's repudiation of them as "odious"; a short first draft of the "Easter Day" scene (Scene I); the lyric "Each for himself is still the rule"; a first draft of the debate about a career and religious conformity (later Scene IX); and 41 portions of soliloquy later to be scattered through scenes X and IX. Most of the major incidents occur in the notebook - the prostitute scene, the insult scene, the lido scene, and the submission - , but in no particular order. It is almost as if Clough was, by 1850, conscious that a kaleidoscopic first-draft stage was a necessary basis for his more searching poetic achievements, and was speeding up that changing of perspectives which had previously been the gradual consequence of successive revision.

Some of the lyric poems later used in Dipsychus appear in the rough notebook as separate items, with no obvious relationship indicated between them and the Faust-poem. For instance, the first draft of "Submit, submit!" is not assigned to a particular speaker, or connected with any dramatic scene, and could equally well be taken as Clough's own

lyric, or as the thoughts of Faustulus, rather than as the Mephisto-  
<sup>42</sup>phelean refrain it was to become. Similarly, the lyrics "As I sat  
 in the café", "Where are the great whom thou wouldst wish to praise  
 thee", and "O let me love my love", and the poem in the picture gallery,  
 "A modern daub, it was, perchance", all first occur in the Venice note-  
 book as separate items rather than as part of a longer work, and all  
 of them were recopied into other notebooks as separate poems, as well  
<sup>43</sup>as being incorporated into the intermediate versions of Dipsychus.

A marked feature of the drafting in the Venice notebook is the  
 way it includes bitter repudiations of Clough's own earlier writings.  
 Mention has already been made of Mephisto's ironic echoing of The Bothie.  
 The hexameters (later used in scene V) render ridiculous by their  
 rhyme scheme lines which Clough elsewhere could use, both in Amours  
de Voyage and in the closing speech of Adam and Eve, as lyrical aspiration:

Life it is beautiful wholly, & could we eliminate solely  
 This overpowering enslaving, encumbering demon of craving,  
 This wicked tempter inside us, to ruin still eager to guide us,  
<sup>44</sup>Life were beatitude, action a possible pure satisfaction.

Because of the jangling rhymes, the speech is made all too open to  
 Mephisto's response, inserted on the facing verso-page of the notebook:

(Hexameters, by all that's odious,  
<sup>45</sup>Beshod with rhyme to run melodious!)

The full irony of the comment, of course, does not come from within  
Dipsychus at all, but from the author's and reader's common knowledge  
 that Clough's two previous major works were written throughout in the  
 metre he was mocking as "odious".

Two of Clough's religious poems were similarly to be disowned,  
 even in this first rough drafting. In Scene I, when Faustulus recites

over to himself lines from Clough's poem of the previous year, "Easter Day in Naples", with its refrain "Christ is not risen", Mephisto responds by politely refusing to take him seriously:

"Christ is not risen" - oh, indeed,  
 I didn't know that was your creed -  
 A pretty name at all events  
 To head a table of contents ...  
 It isn't easy to be clear  
 About the tone that 's taken here ...  
 But still I take it after all  
 46  
 As what we style ironical.

Juxtaposed, therefore, with one of Clough's most deeply-felt and powerful poems is his own satiric judgement upon it, and in subsequent revisions the same poem was to be further pilloried in Scene VIII. In the first draft of Scene VIII, similar treatment was given to an unequivocally "serious" religious poem of Clough's, for the scene opens with Faustulus reciting "Epi-Strauss-ion" (which was discussed briefly in chapter III above). Even this, Mephisto attacks as out of place:

What, harping still upon that way? ...  
 This Puritano-semitheistic  
 Mush of Neologist and Mystic  
 Is, of all doctrines, the least reasonable -  
 47  
 And of all topics most unseasonable.

It is an extraordinary judgement for a writer to entertain about one of his own poems, even through a dramatic persona.

The references in this early draft of the poem, to the theme of re-writing, suggest that Clough felt, at best, ambivalent towards, and at worst alienated from, the process which had been so important in

all his earlier work. In the Venice notebook draft for scene I, Faustulus comments on his own return to such old poems as "Easter Day":

Poor metre and worse sense, I fear; and yet  
 What we have written like a brother sticks  
 And we like parents to it - is it vanity  
 In watches of the night and when the soul  
 Is sick and asks for medicine to recur  
 To what was medicine for it in old times  
 And to repeat old poems by ourselves?

48

Mephisto dismisses any such scruples as nonsense, replying:

Good God, of course, it an't, my friend,  
 Let's have the verse and make an end.

49

Fifty pages further on in the notebook, however, Mephisto's criticism has become much more bitter, for, in one of the longest continuous passages in the first drafting, he equates the urge to repudiate or to re-write poetry, with Faustulus's transcendentalist inability to commit himself in religious matters, and with his similar reluctance to embark on sexual experience. Instead of facing the world, he tells Faustulus, you

burrow in your bedroom - & write verse -

Burn in disgust; then half-restore; & leave  
 Half-done, illegible, in pencil scrawl.

50

Lastly, in one of the separate poems which Clough wrote at the back of his notebook, there appears an explicit contrast between the virtues of action, and the pointlessness of poetry. This is in the lines headed "Byron at Missolonghi", which were later used to start scene IX (IX, 1-20). There may, indeed, be an echo of the distrust of poetry expressed in the earlier sections of Tennyson's In Memoriam, which had

been published in May 1850, and which Clough read and imitated in  
 another poem from the Venice journey: <sup>51</sup> certainly the tone and metre  
 are similar. We should live, the poem claims,

... not for profit, nor for fame,  
 And not for pleasure's giddy dream,

And not for piping empty reeds,  
 And not for colouring idle dust, -  
 If live we positively must,  
 God's name be blest for noble deeds. <sup>52</sup>

From time to time within the muddle of the Venice notebook, Clough  
 made evident attempts to live up to such aspirations, and to bring his  
 poem to a conclusion, by setting out a page of headings to suggest  
 a possible ordering for his rough material, <sup>53</sup> or, twice, by drafting  
 the submission of Faustulus to Mephisto, with the heading "ad finem". <sup>54</sup>  
 Also, there are written throughout the notebook at the head of sections  
 and separate speeches, "scene" numbers to suggest a possible re-ordering:  
 sometimes two successive numbers will be placed at the head of a single  
 section, and none of the numbering is the same as that of the scenes  
 in the next draft-stage. Such efforts are more an indication of the  
 tensions Clough felt, between the free play of the imagination and  
 the urge to complete a single work, during the early composition stage  
 of the poem, than they are evidence of sustained or careful constructive  
 revision.

The first draft of Dipsychus, in the 1850 (Venice) Notebook, is one  
 of the most difficult and fragmentary of all the Clough manuscripts.  
 The revised Oxford edition of the Poems has included in its collation  
 more of the variant passages from this draft than ever before, but,  
 since such passages had to be arranged simply as variants of the finished



poem, the general character of the draft has been effectively obscured. By looking at the notebook stage by itself, it is possible to see the beginnings of the poem in Clough's own internal dialogue, and the Faust-framework as merely a possible experiment for voicing that dialogue, not as a prior "mould" into which Clough poured otherwise unvoiceable feelings. The notebook drafts show the deep alienation Clough was feeling in 1850, and also reveal a bewilderingly unstable set of attitudes, rather than any controlled satiric perspective.

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The next or intermediate stage in the composition of Dipsychus was the making of an ordered fair copy from the rough notebook, in which the very varied rough draftings should be put into the same dramatic form throughout. Clough made this fair copy in a number of notebooks, and the basic facts about these have been clearly set out by the Oxford editors in their notes. <sup>55</sup> Most of the copying is done in Clough's normal pattern, with a main sequence on the recto pages, and occasional late insertions or revisions on the versos. For instance, the decision to open scene VIII with the separately-drafted verses about the Byron picture was a late one, as the scene originally started on a recto page at line 28, and lines 1-27 were subsequently added <sup>56</sup> on the facing verso of the notebook's title-leaf. Comparatively little new material was written for the fair-copy version, but the old material was expanded and regularised.

The notebooks throw interesting light on recent discussion of the structure of the poem, for two distinct forms of the poem can be discerned in this intermediate stage. Two notebooks survive from what the Oxford

editors label Clough's "first revision" of the poem, and these contain a reasonably coherent sequence of scenes, beginning about a third of the way through.<sup>57</sup> Since only seven leaves have been excised from the front of the first notebook, and odd surviving leaves of part of scene II do not match the notebook stubs, it would seem likely that the "first revision" was drafted in three notebooks, of which the first was subsequently destroyed by Clough as unsatisfactory. This "first revision" was structured as a two-act Faust-drama; only scene VII (the insult scene) and scene VI (the lido scene) survive from the first act, where they were to have been scenes IV and V, respectively. Part II survives complete, following the present sequence of scenes IX and XIV.

This two-act structure was used by Mrs. Clough in her presentation of Dipsychus in the texts of 1865 and 1869, and Professor Houghton used it also as the basis for his analysis of the poem. He distinguished a first part of the poem (scenes I-VIII), where the debate was about whether Dipsychus should accept worldly standards of morality, and a second part (scenes IX-XIV) where the debate was whether he should accept a worldly vocation or profession.<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, the division also corresponds to Harris's distinction between two different treatments of the Faust situation in the first and second parts of the poem. Harris argues that in scene IX, "the underlying structure of the poem suddenly changes", and "the tension which had existed between the two poles of Dipsychus's mind largely disappears", leaving only "a diminutive Faust with a conventional devil".<sup>59</sup> Harris concludes that in revision Clough tended to "reduce the poem to a simplified conflict".<sup>60</sup>

The truth, of course, is just the reverse. The second part of the modern text is the part which survives in the earlier draft, and it was only as he came to the end of the "first revision" that Clough began to see the possibility of a more complicated picture of his anti-hero's

internal debates. For most of the scenes of this version the names Mephisto and Faustulus were retained, and only in the last few pages of the second part do the speakers change to "D" and "S", for Dipsychus<sup>61</sup> and the Spirit. This change shows Clough's continuing consciousness of the instability of the debate he had created, for the reference is to James, I, 8: "the double-minded man (Dipsychus) is unstable in all his ways". The changed name for "the Spirit" allows a much wider range of responses to that character, for it avoids the immediate attribution of wickedness to everything he says. It was at this same stage of composition that Clough made the first surviving draft of the editorial framing debate between the "author" and his "uncle", in the Epilogue, and this too serves to complicate, rather than to simplify our reaction to the speakers in the framed Faust-drama, especially by introducing the idea that perhaps the Spirit "wasn't a devil after all", but "merely the hypothesis or subjective imagination" which Dipsychus<sup>62</sup> forms of the World. While Harris was right to see the second part as dealing rather more simply with the Spirit than the first part, he was wrong to suggest that Clough himself was tending to simplify as he proceeded with the composition of the poem.

Clough's decision to re-write the first part of the poem may have been a further step in the wish to complicate the debate rather than a sign of incipient censorship over the early prostitute scenes. This re-writing forms the Oxford editors' "Second revision", and was started in a fresh notebook replacing the lost notebook and excised leaves of the "first revision". From the first, Clough used the signs "D" and "S" for his speakers, and the revision begins with the short prose Prologue, completing the framing effect Clough had worked out for the end of the "first revision". The Prologue is followed by scenes I-IV,

as a first act of five scenes, and then by scenes VIII and V, headed "II.i" and "II.ii" respectively. As the Oxford editors note, none of the material in this revision duplicates the surviving scenes of the "first revision".<sup>63</sup>

Interestingly, again, the arrangement corresponds to some recent critical comment on the structure of the published text. Dr. Biswas has rejected Houghton's two-part division of Dipsychus, and has instead suggested a three-fold division into scenes I-IV, V-VIII ("the weakly organised central scenes"), and IX-XIV.<sup>64</sup> It will be noticed that in the two notebook versions for this intermediate stage, there is no clear evidence of the order in which the middle section should be arranged, and there is no internal evidence to suggest that re-arrangement is necessary: the middle section might therefore run as scene VIII, scene V, scene VII, and scene VI, concluding this act with the "Christ is risen!" of the Lido scene.<sup>65</sup> Certainly, a three-part division such as Dr. Biswas has outlined makes good sense of the awkward overlap of part-numbering between the first and second revisions.

One feature especially stands out from Clough's re-working of the early scenes for this "second revision". Although the intermediate "first revision" is lost, it is possible to compare the original Venice notebook version of scene III and the new "second revision" version, and between the two Clough's chief expansion has been to the character of Dipsychus himself. In the back of the first revision notebook, there is an outline for this scene which shows Clough making the line of argument about sexuality follow Dipsychus's thought, while the Spirit's speeches are only interjections; the outline gives the first lines for the main speeches of scene III, from line 151 to the end, and corresponds closely to the "second revision" version.<sup>66</sup> In the text itself,

Clough has given Dipsychus longer and more coherent speeches. For instance, although the Venice notebook contains a rough draft of III, 65-69, he changes crucially line 67 from a reference to sexuality as "this youthful appetite" to "the vile inquisitive wish, brute appetite": at the same time the speech is expanded by the addition of lines 63-4, the plant metaphor of lines 70-71, the reference to the Biblical parable in lines 72-3, and the reference to Adam and Eve in lines 74-5. The following, more lyrical, speech about female sexuality (III, 79-86) has no counterpart in the early drafting, and was therefore introduced as part of the attempt to complicate Dipsychus's internal debate. Similarly, the rather stereotyped picture of the drunken "woman of the street" (III, 92-5) was softened and complicated by the introduction of new opening lines, which reveal Dipsychus as already generalising his situation as a conflict between the

pressure of the world

And yearning sensibilities of soul (III, 90-91).

This phrasing seems to have been used to make an early link with the nephew's words in the Epilogue, where he describes the poem as representing "the conflict between the tender conscience and the world".<sup>67</sup> Other passages in the "second revision" which had no counterpart in the earlier draft are Dipsychus's speeches at III, 98-113, III, 132-4; and III, 151-61; while at III, 194-6, Dipsychus is allowed to interrupt and reject the Spirit's cynical identification of conscientious abstinence with mere shyness, by calling conscience a "sacred Instinct", and warning the Spirit off such "holy ground".

These expansions of Dipsychus's role substantially alter the balance of debate in the early scenes, especially in scene III, and they suggest that Clough was trying to counteract the disowning and satirical treatment



he had at first given to his protagonist. The expansions are often not very well integrated in tone with the material carried over from the previous drafts, and it was the expansion process that gave rise to some of the unevennesses discussed above. It has been suggested that some of these longer speeches of Dipsychus in the early scenes were intended satirically: Dr. Biswas suggests that "rarely can the Dipsychus of these scenes be taken seriously as a spokesman for the ideal",<sup>68</sup> and some passages are heightened in tone to the point of parody. If, however, the longer and more lyrical sections are seen, not as a calculated element in the original satiric drafting, but as a later layer of composition designed to correct the original emphasis, then it becomes clear that at this second stage Clough intended us to see a serious idealist within the priggish innocent. The change in perspective is similar to that Clough made in his revisions of Amours de Voyage, between the "disowning" satire against Claude in the MS.A version, and the more sympathetic, if tonally unstable, treatment given to Claude in MS.E. Once he had worked through towards a more complex view of Dipsychus, in the conclusion of the "first revision", Clough went back over the opening scenes for the "second revision", to make<sup>69</sup> a central character capable of developing into a tragic hero.

By putting together the "second revision" of the opening scenes, and the "first revision" of the later scenes, one can reconstruct Clough's intermediate version of the poem. It has a clearly developing three-part structure, within the prose frame, and although there are imperfections and awkwardnesses resulting from the revision process, these are local, not structural, and the idea of the poem is plain enough. Idealism and realism are to be juxtaposed in the opening scenes, so that we feel the same tensions felt by Dipsychus: the instability of



perspective in these scenes would have required very careful revision if the delicate balance between possible judgements on Dipsychus was to be maintained. The middle scenes ("There is no god", the insult scene, and the lido scene) still leave real doubt as to whether the Spirit is good or bad, though the range of Dipsychus's own feelings is broadened. In the third part, we are given an enlarged insight into Dipsychus's internal debates, through the long soliloquies, while the Spirit's continuing response of "submit, submit" presents the sadness rather than the gaiety of the world, so that the eventual submission is a tragic abandonment of Dipsychus's highest hopes, not just the sloughing off of priggish fastidiousness: it is against this tragic tone that Clough finally reveals the Spirit as gleefully and wickedly Mephistophelean.

The prose framework is particularly important in making clear the status of the Faust-drama itself. In the Venice notebook, Clough did not stick to the dialogue form consistently, and certainly by 1850 an author or reader might have felt it to be both hackneyed and somewhat factitious. The framework brilliantly "places" the drama itself, making it clear that we are intended to see in it psychological symbolism, rather than a morality debate. The debate in the framework between uncle and nephew itself echoes the debate of the main poem, and makes it plain that the form of a subjective Romantic drama has only been borrowed as a device, to represent the conflicting impulses of the "tender conscience". The framework shows a continuing self-consciousness in Clough about using so "poetic" a form for his poem.

The tone of the conclusion is made much clearer and less ambiguous if we take up an interesting suggestion by James Bertram. In the last exchange of the Epilogue, the nephew promises his uncle "six more

verses".<sup>70</sup> At several points in the intermediate drafts, Clough simply left gaps in the notebook for lyrics already drafted elsewhere, without bothering to recopy them into the sequence. Professor Bertram has suggested that the "six ... verses" were the six lines drafted towards the close of the Venice notebook, which express a suitably chastened faith:<sup>71</sup>

It fortifies my soul to know  
That, though I perish, Truth is so:  
That, howsoever I stray and range,  
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.  
I steadier step when I recall  
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.<sup>72</sup>

Mrs. Clough, in a letter of 1864, commented that the end of *Dipsychus* was "left indistinct because it was so in [Clough's] own mind", but she also thought it unlikely that "he meant the feeling of religion in one sort or another to succumb".<sup>73</sup> These six lines, with their juxtaposition of sin and faith, make a satisfying conclusion, instead of leaving the poem to end in mere banter about metre and the public schools.

A text of Dipsychus based on this intermediate stage in composition would form the most coherent version for literary analysis. While the first rough notebook draft is revealing in its sudden switches of tone and mode, the intermediate version presents Clough's only sustained attempt at creating a structure for the poem. Since any editor is forced to rely on this stage for the majority of the poem's scenes, it seems logical to use it as the basis for a complete text. The intermediate version is inconsistent in various ways, though no more so than the intermediate versions of Amours de Voyage, and it

needs to be treated with due awareness of its unpolished state, but nonetheless within it can be discerned an interesting and innovative poem, psychologically more ambitious than Clough's earlier experiments in representing the dialogue of the mind with itself.

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Clough, however, was never to give to the intermediate version of Dipsychus that careful local revision he accorded to Amours de Voyage. In rather the same way that he tried to simplify the themes of Amours in the MS.E version, by cutting out the love theme, so his next stage in reworking Dipsychus was to begin a new draft in which the theme of sexuality, and its role as a metaphor of commitment and compromise, would be played down: indeed, in the new draft, the most explicit prostitute scene, scene III, was to be cut out completely. <sup>74</sup>

R.M. Gollin has connected this third stage in the poem's history with the influence of Clough's fiancée, Blanche Smith, whom Clough first met in 1850, and to whom he became engaged by the summer of 1852. Gollin writes that "Clough's later revisions were written in part for eyes like his fiancée's". <sup>75</sup> It is worth recalling, however, that Clough had cut out some of the more obviously sexual imagery from quite early drafts both of The Bothie and of Amours de Voyage, before ever he met Blanche, and since there is no evidence to date this "third revision", the connection with his engagement must remain inferential, rather than taken as proved. Clough himself was prepared to copy out several sections of the poem for Blanche, in April 1852, when he wrote for her the Smith Notebook, though he included nothing from the more "shocking" scenes.

The "third revision" represents a kind of self-censorship, and led to irresolvable problems in the structure of the work. Once the prostitute scene had been cut out, Dipsychus's temptation in the early scenes became merely the prospect of a little mild flirtation with the girls of Venice, rather than a visit to a brothel. His scruples, which Clough had expanded and made more sympathetic in the intermediate drafts, now appeared to be morbidly conscientious, because they were scruples about nothing in particular.

Clough's cuts also cause considerable difficulties for the modern editor. In the "third revision", he salvaged a few of the opening lines of scene III, and used them as an opening to scene IV, causing some duplication of material when the "latest versions" of both scenes were printed together by the Oxford edition of 1974. He also cut parts of scenes II and IV, so that a modern editor who wishes to print a "complete" version of the early scenes has to make up a conflation of the "second" and "third" revisions for both these sections. The "third revision" only goes as far as scene V, and gives no basis on which to decide how Clough might have treated the later scenes in his re-working. The difficulties of character and structure to which the simplification and censorship of this re-working gave rise must have become apparent to Clough, for he seems to have lost interest in continuing the revision on these lines. The notebook simply stops after the "fourth" scene (i.e. scene V), abandoned just as Clough had also abandoned the fair-copy version of Adam and Eve, after only the second scene.

In addition to the internal pressure of self-censorship, and the aesthetic problems raised by such drastic alterations, Clough may also have been influenced in his abandonment of the poem by a change in public literary attitudes. In chapter VI, it was suggested that Clough's

later revisions of Amours de Voyage were affected by the reaction in the eighteen-fifties against the monodramas of the "Spasmodic" school. The English Faust poem was particularly associated with the Spasmodics, because of the enormous influence and popularity of Bailey's Festus; the loose construction, the questioning of conventional morality, and the psychological interest of the soliloquies or interior monologues all made Faust particularly popular with Victorian readers. <sup>77</sup> In the eighteen-fifties a reaction set in, not only against the Spasmodics themselves, but also against Faust. As early as 1850, W.H. Smith, reviewing the expanded version of Festus, had launched a general attack on Goethe's English imitators, whom he condemned for their lack of poetic control, and for failing to revise "in a calmer moment...what had been poured forth in the excited hour of original composition". <sup>78</sup>

Again, in 1852, W.E. Aytoun turned aside in a review of Longfellow, to criticise the unevenness of Goethe's Faust, concluding that "we cannot regard it, on the whole, either as a perfect poem, or as one which, from its form, should recommend itself to later poets as a model", and when Aytoun wished, two years later, to make his mock Spasmodic poet, T. Percy Jones, look ridiculous, he included in Jones's exculpatory preface to Firmilian an appeal to Goethe's Faust as precedent for the "extravagance" <sup>with</sup> which he had handled the poem. <sup>79</sup> Clough might well have felt that a new Faust poem would no longer receive a fair hearing, even if he were able to produce a finished version, and may even himself have become uncomfortable with the constraints of a debate-form which he had recognised as very artificial in his Epilogue to the intermediate <sup>80</sup> version.

Certainly, his next attempt at the re-writing of Dipsychus showed a complete shift from the internal, subjective form of all previous



versions, to an objective, dramatic form. From its first publication readers and critics have recognised that the four scenes headed Dipsychus continued are so different in character from the earlier poem as to constitute a separate work, rather than a real continuation. Mrs. Clough herself had printed a warning in the 1865 edition that Dipsychus continued was "in no sense a second part" of the earlier work,<sup>81</sup> and both J.A. Symonds and Henry Sidgwick made the same point in their reviews of the poem.<sup>82</sup> Lady Chorley has demonstrated, from the kind of paper used, that the manuscript of Dipsychus continued dates from Clough's time in America in 1852-53, and Professor Mulhauser has since found confirmation of this dating and has been able to narrow down the period of composition to the months March—June 1853.<sup>83</sup> These were the same months in which Clough was writing his review of the Spasmodic poet Alexander Smith, praising Smith's modern subject matter (at the expense of Matthew Arnold's antiquarianism), but criticising Smith's poem A Life Drama for its unregulated profusion of imagery and its faulty and convoluted construction.<sup>84</sup> In Dipsychus continued Clough cut out all the Faust-element, together with the appearance of the Spirit, turning instead to a dramatic presentation of a middle-aged, successful Dipsychus, now Lord Chief Justice, faced again with the prostitute he had known in his youth, and only now beginning to recognise the meaning of "guilt". The new treatment is powerfully written, but essentially incompatible in perspective with the main poem, though it cannot be understood without it. It is perhaps best viewed, not as a continuation of the earlier poem, but as a continuation of the composition process, a significant development in an essentially private writing-sequence.

When Clough came to prepare his poems for the American edition in 1858-59, therefore, he had a great deal of material for a poem on



the Dipsychus theme, but had run into substantial problems of construction and treatment. There were aesthetic as well as moral reasons why he could not bring the poem as a whole into publishable form for the new edition. What he in fact did was to go back to the first stage in the composition of the poem, when the various sections had been part of a freely-associated kaleidoscope of verse-writing. Clough rejected the elaborate Faust-form, and recopied individual lyrics and poems, without attributing them to a fictional speaker. Some of the sections appeared in 1862 as a group, under the heading "At Venice", while others were simply presented as separate items without any indication<sup>85</sup> that they had ever been linked together in a larger work. There is specific authority in Clough's letters to C.E. Norton for the publication of only one of these sections ("It fortifies my soul to know")<sup>86</sup>, but he did not mention in the letters poems of which he was forwarding a manuscript version, only those Norton was to take from Ambarvalia or from earlier copies, and most of the sections of Dipsychus included in 1862 occur in fair-copy versions among Norton's papers. There seems little reason to doubt that it was Clough himself who planned to detach these sections from the main poem, for separate publication.

The interesting thing about this final stage in the Dipsychus story is that the sections Clough detached included lines originally spoken by both of the characters, not just by Dipsychus. When Victorian readers first met such lyrics as "'There is no God', the wicked saith", "As I sat in the café", and "Submit, submit!", they read them, not as the witty and wicked ideas of Mephistopheles, but as the poetry of Clough himself. William Allingham, for instance, had taken these lyrics "to belong to the poet's own way of thinking", when he first read them in the edition of 1862, and Allingham was very surprised to find them "put

into the mouth of the devil", when he read Mrs. Clough's reconstructed<sup>87</sup> longer text, in the Letters and Remains of 1865. A modern critic might argue that it was rather naive to identify Clough with the persona of such lyrics in the first place, but the matter is not quite that simple. After all, the Spirit's songs, quite as much as Dipsychus's, had first been drafted by Clough without any clearly-defined fictional persona in mind. As we have seen, "'There is no God', the wicked saith" was written before Clough developed the idea of a Faust-dialogue, while "Submit, submit!" was drafted separately from the Faust-poem and integrated with it in the intermediate drafts. The separate publication of the lyrics, therefore, in the edition of 1862, represents a return to the situation in Clough's original notebook, where both Dipsychus and the Spirit were simply aspects of Clough's own personality, rather than formally contrasted characters.

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Potentially at least, Dipsychus was one of the most rewriteable of Clough's poems. The very fragmentariness of the Faust-drama allowed almost infinite variation and expansion, if Clough felt it worth the trouble. P.J. Bailey wrote of his Faust-drama, Festus, that "very soon after its first appearance, the author perceived the original outline to be sufficiently elastic to admit almost every variety of classifiable thought", and he proceeded to expand Festus from a mere<sup>88</sup> 8,000 lines to more than 39,000. Some writers have thought that Clough succumbed to a similar temptation to over-expand his material: Dr. Biswas, for instance, describes Dipsychus as failing, "like the<sup>89</sup> bursting of an overstuffed hold-all". But the range of subject and

theme in the intermediate or longest version of Clough's poem is no greater than that in Amours de Voyage, while the amount of incident, and the space devoted to scene-setting, are both considerably less. Some of Clough's additions to Dipsychus's speeches in the intermediate version created the problems of tone characteristic of partial re-writing, but these had introduced a variation in attitude to the character, rather than an unmanageable amount of new material, and further re-writing, on the lines of the later versions of Amours de Voyage, could have integrated more fully Clough's successive perspectives on the poem. By contrast with his doubt whether Clough's other long unfinished drama, Adam and Eve, "could ever have been completed", Henry Sidgwick judged that Dipsychus needed only local revision to be "finished". Sidgwick wrote:

If it [Dipsychus] had received the author's final touches, a few trivialities and whimsicalities would no doubt have been pruned away: but we doubt whether the whole could have been much improved. 90

The problem for Clough in re-writing the poem was, I would suggest, that the debate-form itself limited the variation of voice which was central to his poetic art. The sharp division between two characters, Faustulus and Mephistopheles, was simply too clear a polarisation for Clough's thought, and even when the characters were metamorphosed into the more complicated contrast of Dipsychus and the Spirit, the debate-form proved inflexible. Barbara Hardy has argued that

at the heart of Clough's poetry, are the various stances which shift, which ask and answer, which dovetail and contradict, which may seem to mask each other, which are poles apart or dangerously close to each other.

Professor Hardy goes on to assert that these varied stances "are most brilliantly and profoundly ordered and disordered in Dipsychus".<sup>91</sup> This is true of the best effects in Dipsychus, particularly of the cross-

cutting of attitude in scenes V and VI, and of the brilliant soliloquy on the problems of action in scene X, but it is at least arguably more true about Clough's original rough drafting in the 1850 (Venice) Notebook, than it is about the more formally conceived later versions. In the deep alienation of his first years at University Hall, Clough had found that a Mephistophelean repudiation of his wearisome Faust-like speculation imaged adequately the conflicts he was feeling. Such a simple division of the self was not true to his continuing experience, however, and increasingly as the re-writing process continued his characteristic variability of voice was constrained rather than released by the schematic Goethean polarisation into two opposed speakers. The prose-framework shows something of this development of attitude, in its acute self-consciousness.

Clough's eventual abandonment of Dipsychus would seem to have been at least as much an aesthetic matter as a moral one: it was a rejection of the artificial form he had adopted rather than simply a turning away from the dangerous subjects which had been his theme. For any further meaningful development of the work, beyond the framed Faust-drama of the intermediate stage, Clough would have had to go back to the pattern of his first drafting, and construct a kaleidoscopic poetry of fragments on the lines of his own Ambarvalia volume, or of Eliot's Waste Land. Though the intermediate versions of the poem come closest to offering the reader a poem of linear development, all that is most original in the work comes from that juxtaposition of multiple perspectives which was already present in Clough's notebook draft. By the time he wrote Dipsychus, in the autumn of 1850, the changes and the flux of the re-writing process had become basic to Clough's art, and he quickly became dissatisfied with the premature attempt to impose a

conventional unity on his unconventional creation. Gertrude Patterson has described the modernist artists and poets of the early twentieth century as aiming to bring "all aspects of the object to the view of the spectator simultaneously". Their principle for composing poetry, she writes,

was simply that the parts of the poem were to be kept deliberately at random, until the artist was ready to assemble them in his poem. The unity of the resultant assemblage depended not on the logical way in which the artist worked out his thoughts from beginning to end, but on the intensity of awareness which he achieved through the interpenetration of the parts which made it up. 92

Many critics have commented on the "modern" tone of Clough's finished poems. In Dipsychus he seems partially to have anticipated the moderns in the process by which he was composing the work.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MARRIAGE AND AFTER - "THE CONSTRUCTIVE PHASE"

Clough's life after the age of thirty-five shows a very marked contrast to the years which came before. For five years, since he had resigned from Oriel and left Oxford, he had been leading a life full of external incident and of constant change, taking him to London, Paris, Rome, Venice, and then in 1852, to New England. It had also been a life of an essentially provisional nature, while he tried out, and rejected, different jobs and possible careers. These years were the period in which he composed much of his best poetry, and poems which were most exploratory in treatment and most fluid in text. Then, in 1854, when he was thirty-five, there came a change. Apart from a business trip to the continent, a few visits to relatives, and at the end his journeys south in search of health, Clough abandoned travel, and settled down to a permanent job, as an Examiner in the Education Office of the Privy Council. This was the sort of job many young Oxford fellows took in the forties and fifties to escape the twin yoke of ordination and celibacy, but Clough turned to it much later than such contemporaries as Palgrave and Arnold. He forsook the miscellaneous variety of his former literary projects, for the major undertaking of a revised translation of Plutarch, a task which took him four years, and which runs to some 1700 printed pages. What little poetry Clough wrote after 1854 was of a distinctively different character from his earlier work.

This dramatic change was clearly connected with Clough's marriage to Blanche Smith, in June 1854. Clough had become engaged to Blanche in 1852, and his American venture of 1852-53, when he had



tried to establish himself as a free-lance writer and tutor in Cambridge, Massachusetts, had been an attempt to create the kind of stable life-style that would enable the marriage to go ahead. His return to England and the Civil Service job enabled him to gain her father's approval and substantial financial aid. The poet who wrote about Philip Hewson's love for a Highland lassie in The Bothie, about the Oxonian Claude's doubts and indecisions in love in Amours de Voyage, and about the twin temptations of sexuality and connubiality in Dipsychus, chose in 1854 to marry the daughter of a well-to-do Unitarian lawyer, from a decent upper-class Victorian family. Blanche's only deviation from the conventional was her willingness, at the age of twenty-four, to become engaged to a balding, plump, frustrated, and jobless, ex-radical of thirty-five.<sup>1</sup> On Clough's marriage to her, he transferred for good from the speculations and temptations of St. Mark's Square in Venice, to a life of quiet domesticity at 4, St. Mark's Crescent, N.W.

Critics have not been slow to point to Clough's marriage as the cause of the change in his attitudes and style of life, and to blame the marriage for ending his major creative period. David Williams has described Blanche's role as being "someone to run to, someone behind whose skirts Clough's psychological disarray could hide ... a consolation for the defeated part of him."<sup>2</sup> Robindra Biswas, in many ways more sympathetic than other biographers, writes of the married years that "it is difficult to see this withdrawal from intellectual and creative effort as anything but a capitulation", and Kenneth Allott echoes that last damning judgment: "Clough's marriage to Blanche Smith was the outward sign of an inward

capitulation to the World, signifying a collapse of the 'uncompromising self-consciousness' that nerved the poise of his finest work."<sup>3</sup>

Even Lady Chorley concludes that marriage stopped the real source of Clough's creativity: "so long as he had Blanche it was not likely that he would create again out of discord."<sup>4</sup>

Such statements seem too strong, and concentrate too exclusively on Clough the poet, rather than on Clough the man. They need to be qualified in two ways. First, since poetry had always been for Clough a personal and therapeutic experience, quite as much as a public calling or career, it seems rather harsh to condemn Blanche for making, so successfully, the poetic salve or medicine unnecessary. Clough's most characteristic poetry had been written out of deep personal and intellectual tensions, and in his married life, as Blanche Clough commented, Clough "was freed from perplexing questions as to choice of occupation", and freed also from the "enforced and painful communing with the self alone".<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, although Clough wrote very little new poetry after his marriage, until Mari Magno in 1861, his other literary activities can hardly be adequately described as a "withdrawal" or "capitulation". The sheer scale of the revision of Plutarch has already been mentioned, and when the five large volumes were eventually published in the summer of 1859, his work was recognised by reviewers as "worthy of all praise", as combining "a taste in style with the scholarship proper to Oriel", and as superseding the Langhorne Plutarch to become "the standard translation of our libraries."<sup>6</sup> A selected one-volume version for schools was published by Longmans, on Clough's initiative, in the following year, and his text was still

being reprinted into the twentieth century. His long-standing interest in Goethe, and in the problems of verse-translation, resulted in a review, containing some of his own attempts, in Fraser's Magazine in 1859.<sup>7</sup> The years 1857-59 were those in which Clough revised much of his earlier verse, including both The Bothie and his Ambarvalia poems, in preparation for the American edition which C.E. Norton was planning. Above all, it was during the married years that he was able, finally, to bring to resolution the previously intractable problems of tone and perspective in Amours de Voyage. Since Clough held a responsible full-time government post, and since, in addition, he worked hard as a kind of unofficial secretary to his wife's cousin Florence Nightingale,<sup>8</sup> the literary achievements of Clough's married years seem substantial enough: more of his work reached print or printability in this period, than in the preceding bachelor days, when he had been so prodigal of unpublishable drafts.

His marriage, in fact, was not something he passively endured, but a positive development he chose willingly. Dr. Biswas has pointed out "the fervour and completeness with which Clough ... embraced domesticity",<sup>9</sup> and Wendell V. Harris has suggested that the change in Clough's style of life in the eighteen-fifties, including his marriage, followed from the working out of a new set of mental attitudes, before and during the year in America. Arguing from an analysis of some of Clough's shorter lyrics and narratives of 1849-52, Professor Harris concludes that "prior to the settling of the outer details of Clough's life, an inner resolution had been reached".<sup>10</sup> Clough's marriage, in short, can be seen as the result, not the cause,

of the changes in Clough's outlook and thinking.

In order to understand the kind of writing and revising that Clough undertook during this new phase of his life, it is necessary to set aside the idea that Clough simply declined into conventionality, and to follow up Harris's argument that Clough attained a deepening "resolution and acceptance" in his poetry, as the balance "swung away from the old vexed, constantly problematic views of the world" he had previously expressed.<sup>11</sup> If the basic thesis of this study is correct (that the complexity of Clough's major work is related to Clough's habit of multiple re-writing), then so important a development should have its effect, not just on the kind of poems Clough produced, but also on the way in which he produced them. In a sense, therefore, the purpose of this chapter is a negative one, tracing out the relative lack of revision in Clough's later work, or at least the absence of that divergent re-writing and of the unstable draft-texts which had characterised much of his earlier poetry.

Intermittently, throughout his writing career, Clough had been attracted by an alternative model of composition to the exploratory one which lies behind his best work. At various stages of his life, usually those in which, for one reason or another, he had achieved some temporary stability of belief and of life-style, he turned to the more optimistic literary modes of continuous narrative and of lyric poetry, and the kinds of revisions he then made polish rather than reinterpret the poem. During his later years at Oriel, for instance, his liberal religious beliefs found expression in lyrics such as "Qui laborat, orat" and "Qua cursum ventus", and, while the phrasing of both those poems was worked over with great care, it is

significant that in neither of them is there any sign of disruptive alternative perspectives on the poem being entertained at any draft stage.<sup>12</sup> In September 1847, when Clough was happily holidaying in the Highlands, he wrote the poem "Ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ " ("Farewell my Highland lassie!"): in spite of the amount of additional material which has now been printed from the three drafts of that poem, the extraordinary fact is that the perspective and tone of the poem, and Clough's attitude to the potentially problematic action of an undergraduate kissing a Highland girl, remain constant, unchanged and unqualified, through all three versions. It makes very little difference to our understanding of the work that only twenty-four lines were printed in Ambarvalia, rather than the 110 of the longest draft.<sup>13</sup> As was argued in chapter IV, Clough's greater certainty and confidence at the time he had resolved to resign from Oriel resulted in the relative stability of text in Clough's long narrative poem, The Bothie. Even in the less settled years which followed his resignation, Clough occasionally created poems of stable text: for instance, in the first flush of hope for the Roman Republic, and probably during the unsuccessful attack by French forces on April 30, 1849, he had sketched out his famous lyric of hope, "Say not the struggle nought availeth", and the drafts of the poem show the accumulation of successive images for a single unchanging attitude, rather than the questioning and undercutting of a single image which is more usual in Clough. His subsequent recopyings of the poem were concerned with the perfection of phrasing and metre, not with switches of tone or any change in poetic structure.<sup>14</sup> Throughout his life, therefore, Clough had written occasional poems of stable

text, and there seems to be a fairly consistent connection between the idealistic and optimistic content of such poems, the choice of a lyric or narrative form for them, and their untypical treatment in the draft stage.

In Clough's Oxford and University Hall years, only a small proportion of his poetry had been of this kind, and it is usually the poems which hold least attraction for Clough's modern readers which show such textual stability. From about 1852, however, poetry of stable text comes to dominate Clough's writing, and among the sixty-four shorter poems now assigned to the period 1852-61 by Professor Mulhauser not a single one shows in its text or variants the instability of perspective which had previously been so common.<sup>15</sup> The textual notes to the revised Oxford edition contain a fair number of variants for these poems, and even include, for some of them, whole stanzas which Clough subsequently deleted, but there is a change in the kind of re-writing Clough is undertaking, since the variants show him refining, elaborating or simplifying a basically stable poem, rather than altering it substantially.<sup>16</sup>

The change can be demonstrated from a group of lyrics Clough wrote to Blanche Smith before their marriage, while he was still in America. They were later included by her in the 1869 edition as a sequence, under the title "Songs in Absence", though the grouping does not seem to have received Clough's own sanction.<sup>17</sup> There are fourteen poems in the published sequence, and they are remarkably uniform in tone and attitude. Most of them exist in at least two manuscripts - Clough's draft, and the fair copy he sent to Blanche in England - , but the variants simply show Clough trying to improve



the poems, rather than to reinterpret them. For instance, the Oxford editors print two complete versions of the lyric beginning "Some future day", one of five stanzas, and one of six, but the differences of tone between them is minimal, as can be seen in a comparison of the two versions of this stanza:

When we have learnt, each on his path alone  
 To know ourselves, and let ourselves be known,  
 Have made life clearer, fought out each a way  
 We'll meet again - we shall have much to say (MS.1)

When we have proved, each on his course alone,  
 The wider world, and learnt what's now unknown,  
 Have made life clear, and worked out each a way,  
 We'll meet again, - we shall have much to say (MS.2)<sup>18</sup>

The second version makes the "ship at sea" image replace the "path" in the first and second lines, and suggests absolute rather than relative understanding in line 3, but the change in imagery does not alter the tenor of the stanza. Even the extra stanza of MS.1 added nothing to the poem, and was more likely to have been omitted for its weakness in phrasing, than because Clough had come to disagree with its unexceptionable sentiments, which are entirely, consistent with those of the other five stanzas.<sup>19</sup>

Rather similarly, the famous anthology-lyric, "Where lies the land to which the ship must go?", exists in no less than five different manuscripts, and from those it is plain that stanza 1 (which was repeated to form stanza 4) was composed separately from stanzas 2 and 3.<sup>20</sup> In a typical Clough poem of the major period,

this situation would almost certainly have resulted in some divergence of attitude towards the original image. Now, however, Clough composed extra stanzas which merely elaborate the first idea, rather than question or develop it.

The "Songs in Absence" group contains several pairs of poems, one echoing the other. For instance, "Come home, come home" is echoed by "Come back, come back", and "Were I with you" is echoed by "Were you with me".<sup>21</sup> In Clough's earlier poetry, as we have seen in chapter 3 with the pair of lyrics "Ah, what is love", and "Oh, ask not what is love", the second of such poems usually involved an answering and questioning of the first. Even so optimistic a lyric as "Say not the struggle nought availeth", with its exhortation to faith and action, had received an echoing reply, advocating an idealistic withdrawal from worldly strife, in the lines beginning "In controversial foul impureness".<sup>22</sup> Now, in these later pairs of poems, there was no such change of voice or viewpoint. Clough still returned time and again to the same poems, but now he simply sang again "old verses we had sung before",<sup>23</sup> rewriting them in a kind of elegant variation or extending them far beyond what the original idea could sustain (as, for instance, in his continuation of "Were you with me").<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps the most striking evidence offered by the "Songs in Absence" for Clough's changed approach to poetic revision is the poem "O ship, ship, ship".<sup>25</sup> Of this, there are two manuscript versions extant, both dating from May 1853. The earlier of these was sent by Clough in a letter to Blanche of May 6, and was described by him as "a doggerel ballad all about nothing", and by

the Oxford editors as "a jocular version".<sup>26</sup> It is, in fact, a curious mixture of romanticism and semi-ironic lightheartedness:

O ship, ship, ship,  
Come quick across the sea,  
And bring to land the letter  
You are carrying for me.

My heart in one moment goes over  
Twenty times in every day,  
And why should you be, I wonder,  
A whole fortnight on the way ...

The letter you are carrying with you  
Would against the wind and the sea  
Come straight as an arrow hither  
On the wings of love to me.

Clearly this "doggerel" needed revision of some sort, and two days later Clough entered a second version of the poem into his notebook. The changes he made, far from increasing and exploiting the irony as his revisions to earlier poems had often done, are instead a simplification of the poem, and create a single unified expression of romantic longing, with no ironic overtones:

O ship, ship, ship,  
That travellest over the sea,  
What are the tidings, I pray thee,  
Thou bearest hither to me?

Are they tidings of comfort and joy,  
 That shall make me seem to see  
 The sweet lips softly moving  
 And whispering love to me?

...

Whatever it be thou bringest  
 Come quickly with it to me.

The change of tone in this second version comes partly from the regularisation of the metre (for instance, in line 3), and partly from making the diction less specific and more poetic: the "letter" becomes "tidings", "carrying" becomes "bearest hither". Yet the rewriting is not just a matter of making the surface of the poem more conventional, but of simplifying, and making more coherent, its emotional structure. There is no attempt in this rewriting to include in the later version the range of emotions evoked by the earlier one.

Clough's "Songs in Absence" were treated respectfully by his late Victorian critics, and include some of the most widely anthologised of his work. Modern critics, however, have been almost unanimously dismissive: Professor Houghton describes some of them as "scarcely above the level of the *Annals*", Professor Harris says that they are "fairly conventional and will not be discussed", while David Williams characterises them as "flat and naive and honest and not very good".<sup>27</sup> The "Songs" are much simpler in structure and tone than Clough's major work, or even most of his *Ambarvalia* poems, and this explains the rather different responses of Victorian and modern readers, who are looking for rather different

things from short poems such as these. It is hard to resist the conclusion, however, that the different kind of rewriting they exhibit is related to their lack of modern appeal.

Mrs. Clough rightly, if slightly smugly, described her husband as having passed during the early eighteen-fifties "from the speculative to the constructive phase of thought".<sup>28</sup> The analysis of these lyrics from the American period suggests that the change began to show itself in his mode of composition some time before his marriage, though as these examples indicate the change is seen particularly clearly in poems associated with the hopefulness Clough found in his engagement to Blanche. It was a development with repercussions for the later history of the Clough texts, and in the rest of this chapter I will examine the effects of Clough's "constructive phase of thought", first on his revision of earlier poems, and then in his composition of new narrative poetry, in his last work, the Mari Magno tales.

\* \* \*

The question of Clough's later revisions to earlier poems has been a particularly vexed one in modern Clough criticism, because critical and editorial judgments are so closely interrelated. Conventional editorial theory, of course, would prescribe the reproduction of substantive readings from a late text, or a text fulfilling the author's latest intentions, except for special biographical or historical study. In accordance with this broad theory, the Oxford editors of 1951 made it their aim to present

"the text of what appears to be the latest manuscript available for each poem ... or to prefer a printed text [usually the posthumous London edition of 1862] when there is a strong presumption that it was based upon a later manuscript which has now disappeared."<sup>29</sup>

Professor Mulhauser has followed substantially the same policy in his revised edition of 1974, though with a much more careful use of the posthumous printed texts, preferring the 1862 Boston edition to the London one (on the basis of the argument reproduced as Appendix II of this thesis).<sup>30</sup> Most Clough critics feel rather uneasy when they are attempting to study poems, such as Adam and Eve or Dipsychus, about which Clough's final intentions remain obscure.

However, as Professor Mulhauser himself acknowledges, other Clough scholars have advocated the printing of the earliest available text, on the grounds that Clough's later revisions "tended to diminish the vigour and sharpness of his phrasing", and that an editor was being unfair to the young Clough if he preferred the middle-aged revisions.<sup>31</sup> Chief among these dissenters has been R.M. Gollin, who criticizes the Oxford policy on the basis of a two-stage categorisation of the Clough variants. Professor Gollin argues that

the manuscripts, and even the texts published in Clough's life-time, often reflect two distinct stages of writing. In the first stage, Clough wrote his poem as it required itself to be written, a poem reflecting the thoughts and feelings he had at the time; in the second, Clough wrote out and revised to make the poem respectably presentable to the Victorian tastes and judgments he increasingly accepted after his marriage. The [Oxford] editors, by preferring the "latest manuscript available", favoured Clough's second intention. 32



It will be readily apparent from previous chapters that Professor Gollin's distinction between good, early texts, and bad, late ones, is an over-simplification, if only because the early draft stages of the majority of Clough's poems are so diverse and fragmented, and because the idea of how a poem "required itself to be written" is an unusually unstable one in Clough's process of composition. Professor Gollin's categories rest on a very romantic view of a poet's text, in which sincere, unblotted papers have subsequently to be revised to meet socially-prescribed standards of art and morality.<sup>33</sup> It has been the major theme of this thesis that rewriting was, from Clough's earliest work, and long before his marriage, basic to his production of successful poetry. An edition which took Professor Gollin's policy literally, and attempted to reproduce Clough's "first intention", would largely be dealing with fragments, not with poems, and certainly not with poems as complex or multi-faceted as were produced in the process of rewriting.

If, however, we take Gollin's second category to apply only to the very latest groups of revisions, those Clough made from about 1852 onward, his policy seems more plausible, especially if one believes the later revising to be heavily influenced by prudishness. What, after all, could be more desirable than to present, in Professor Gollin's words, "the writings of a jaunty and vigorous satirist rather than the earnest and abstracted poet Mrs. Clough preferred and Clough himself, in time, came to cultivate as his dominant self-image"?<sup>34</sup> I have indicated, in the studies of The Bothie, Amours de Voyage, and Dipsychus, that Clough cut out sexual or scatological references in some of his revisions, though such

self-censorship often comes at quite an early stage in composition, and is evident well before he had met his future wife. There is a significant fact here that has to be noted by psychological critics and by biographers. The editor, though, will find that such "censorship" is so closely mingled with other revisions of tone or characterisation, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to develop a consistent policy for separating the two kinds of alteration, to preserve the "lusty, irreverent" Clough of Gollin's reading without also preserving awkwardnesses Clough himself later resolved. No editor would wish nowadays to follow Mrs. Clough's unauthorised excisions in the various editions she produced after Clough's death, but there seems little evidence (with one arguable exception in "Natura Naturans") that Clough damaged his poems by greater prudishness in his later revisions. Even in the case of Dipsychus, insofar as the abandonment of the poem was moral as well as aesthetic, Clough seems to have recognized that a revision which emasculated the poem was useless, and it is evidence of his integrity as much as his timidity that he gave up the "censored" third revision after drafting only the opening scenes. The theme of sexuality, if not the lighthearted tone of some of his earlier treatments of the theme, survived even in the Mari Magno tales.

The revisions that Clough made to his earlier poems in the last phase of his life are significant, not for showing an easily isolable censorship, but for the change to a much more definite and more firmly editorial approach to text. The development is clearly discernible in the various copies of Clough's Ambarvalia poems to which he had added manuscript markings. Many copies

contain a correction for a simple printing error on p.29 ("an age's" corrected to "on age's"),<sup>35</sup> but the Oxford editors noted three copies of the separately-bound Clough half-volume which contain more extensive manuscript annotation, and Professor Gollin has argued that all three are authoritative sources for Clough's latest wishes about the text and titling of the poems.<sup>36</sup> The earliest of the three (A) includes proof-sheets for the original Ambarvalia joint-volume of 1849, and has altogether four different layers of manuscript markings, including the original proof corrections.<sup>37</sup> It could never have been intended as printer's copy for a revised edition, as the markings are too unclear and unsystematic. It seems to have been used by Clough as a record of possible revisions, rather as he made alterations to the proofs of The Bothie, after that work had been published.

The second of the three copies was a presentation gift to C.E. Norton, inscribed November 23 1852, soon after Clough's arrival in America from England, and well over a year before Norton's suggestion that Clough's poems should be reprinted in America.<sup>38</sup> Most of the markings in this copy are annotations, explanations of the personal, English, background of the poems to an American friend: for instance, "Away, haunt not thou me" is annotated "In lecture at Balliol College", and "When Israel came out of Egypt" is annotated "Going from London to Oxford 1846?" (though the real date is more likely to have been 1845).<sup>39</sup> There are alterations to the text of two poems only, deleting two stanzas of "Natura Naturans", and amending some clumsy lines of "Qui laborat orat". Clough had plenty of opportunity in subsequent correspondence with Norton about the

American edition, to remind him of these textual corrections in this second copy, if they were intended to be authoritative revisions, but he preferred to send new instructions by letter. (Professor Gollin only confuses matters by invoking the "authority" of this copy, when he suggests that the third Commemoration Sonnet should be retitled "The King of Saxony's Visit", for this was not a new title but one of the annotations, explaining to Norton what the poem was about.)<sup>40</sup> Confirmation for this assessment of the markings in the Norton copy comes from two copies not collated by the Oxford editors. One of these was presented by Clough to William J. Martineau, in 1852, and has three small alterations to the text, including one to avoid the awkward "singly sing" on p.1.<sup>41</sup> The other belonged to Anne Jemima Clough, and had been presented to her by her brother on January 16 1849.<sup>42</sup> While she was staying with Clough in London in April of that year, she records that "I got Arthur to tell me when some of the poems were written".<sup>43</sup> Most of the markings, therefore, in the sister's hand, are annotations, like those in the Norton copy, but usually more accurate in dating. There are also some additional titles given (corresponding closely with those in copy A), notes to "omit" some poems, and a correction to a misprint. These two additional copies confirm that Clough marked up copies with annotations, and even with minor corrections to the text, for presentation to friends, in circumstances which could not lead to any authoritatively-revised printed edition.

The third corrected copy collated by the Oxford editors is, however, very different. This is the one for which they use the sign B. This certainly dates from later than 1852, and probably

from the late eighteen-fifties.<sup>44</sup> There is reason to believe that Clough intended the corrections in B to be used in a future edition, first, because they are reasonably neatly made and uncontaminated by annotations which would be irrelevant to a printer; and, secondly, because it was only from this copy that Mrs. Clough took corrections when preparing the 1862 texts, and she may, therefore, have known the relative value Clough put on the annotations in his own two copies. There are careful corrections to the text of only two poems, again revising the clumsy phrasing in "Qui laborat orat", and shortening the over-long "When Israel came out of Egypt" by deleting two stanzas, and emending other lines to fit these omissions.

The corrections made in B are similar to those which Clough sent in a letter to Norton, on November 28 1858.<sup>45</sup> There are the same deletions from "When Israel...", and another poem, "With graceful seat", was cut down to less than half its original length. Cuts were also made to "Natura Naturans", the poem about sexual awareness in a second-class railway carriage. From this, Clough ordered the deletion of stanzas 3 and 4 (lines 25-40), in which he had asserted that the "unsuspecting" maid had first with him "to Hymen learnt to bow". When he ordered the omission of these two stanzas he also altered the line immediately following, to include an explicit statement that the young couple "touched not, nor look". This might be thought a clear case of post-marital censorship of lines originally penned with bachelor frankness. The deletions do not, however, diminish the urgent consciousness of sexual arousal in the poem, but merely make it certain that the reader will recognise it as a poem of sexual feeling, not misread it as a poem about an

overt sexual act. The deleted stanzas, and the altered line, are weakly-written in the 1849 text, and Clough had already tried to tinker with the phrasing in copy A, and had actually made the deletion in the copy he sent to Norton in 1853, before his marriage. All the corrections in B, and in the 1858 letter, seem to me "editorial" in character, cutting and improving earlier poems, rather than censoring them. It is supporting evidence for the general development in Clough's approach to rewriting, that in his markings on the Ambarvalia poems, he should move from the free, rather messy, jotting of possible corrections, and non-"textual" annotations, to the much more carefully focused emendations of the later revisions.

The development towards a "constructive" pattern of re-writing also affected Clough's revision of his longer poems. As I have suggested in chapter 5, Clough's later revisions of The Bothie tended to emphasise the idyllic aspects of the poem, at the expense of the realistic and less controlled debate and argument sections, thus making the poem more coherent in tone, and taking it still further from the cross-cutting of tone and thought more typical of Clough's poetry in his major period. The case of Amours De Voyage, which only reached final form during Clough's married years, also shows Clough's firmer grasp on the structuring of his long poems. In his bachelor period, Clough had been unable ever to bring the poem to a settled enough state for publication. Now, even though the genius of the poem lay in its instability of text and attitude, he was able to "edit" the letters into publishable form. As was indicated in chapter 6, some of the letters Clough added during this last "editorial" stage emphasised the poetic, dreamy and



idealistic side of Claude's character, and thus showed the continuity rather than the brokenness of his feelings. As I also suggested, however, the enormously greater success of Clough's late revisions to Amours de Voyage, over his late revisions to The Bothie, lies in his continuing sensitivity, even in years when his own outlook had changed, to the full range of conflicting voices found in the various earlier drafts.

Clough's later revisions to his earlier poems can be seen as the natural concomitant of the general development of his personal and poetic attitudes. He revised in these later years, however, with a fairly light hand, preferring simply to neglect or omit those poems he no longer enjoyed, than to rewrite very extensively. Where he did revise, it shows, fairly consistently, a tendency to prefer stability of tone within a poem, rather than the variable tone of his earlier versions.

\* \* \*

This new development towards a poetry of stable text and tone, which appears in Clough's lyric sequence "Songs in Absence", and in his revisions, is evident also in the major new composition of his married years, the Mari Magno tales. Throughout 1858 and 1859, Clough had been overworking himself, and began to suffer recurrent illness, and from the end of 1860 he was on sick-leave from his job, and travelled widely in the search for renewed health.<sup>46</sup> In the April of 1861, he went alone, as in his bachelor days, to Greece and Constantinople and Mrs. Clough writes that "no sooner was he again

at leisure and <sup>in</sup> solitude than the old fountain of verse, so long dry within him, reopened afresh."<sup>47</sup> On this journey, he wrote two short narrative tales, later to be fitted into a larger sequence, and then, in the summer and autumn of 1861, as he was travelling in France, the Pyrennees, and in Italy, he gradually added further verse-tales, and worked out a framework for the group, in which the different tales were to be told by the various passengers on a ship crossing the Atlantic from Liverpool to Boston.<sup>48</sup> As A.M. Turner has pointed out, this framework draws on Clough's memory of his own voyage to America on the Canada in November 1852, when his fellow-passengers included W.M. Thackeray, and James Russell Lowell, as well as a middle-aged champagne-drinking clergyman, and an officer of engineers, just like the narrators in Mari Magno.<sup>49</sup> The tales are written throughout in rhymed couplets (most of them heroic couplets), and all of them are concerned with stories about marriage - happy marriage, delayed marriage, guilt in marriage, missed marriages, and so on.

From their first publication (selectively in 1862, more fully in 1863), it has been recognized that the Mari Magno tales represent a change in Clough's poetic method. David Masson, for instance, wrote on their first publication, that they were "different from anything else of Clough's", and many others have since echoed his judgement.<sup>50</sup> In general, those critics who have been most responsive to Clough's earlier works have found Mari Magno flat and prosaic, while among modern critics only those most critical of the earlier Clough, H.W. Garrod, and David Williams, have given more than grudging praise to the poem.<sup>51</sup> It is interesting that some of

the earlier reviewers linked the change of style to a newly strengthened religious and moral belief: W.Y. Sellar, for instance, praised the tales because in them Clough's "moral strength and beauty" was "no longer clouded by any morbid misgivings", and an anonymous American reviewer saw in them signs that "faith was gaining ground upon his unbelieving habit of mind."<sup>52</sup> The tales seem much more matter-of-fact and much less speculative than most of Clough's earlier work, and to be more concerned to recount events in terms of fairly simple moral judgement, than to explore the problems of judging.

This change of style has usually been linked to Clough's own internal development during the seven years since his marriage, but there were external factors influencing his choice of the narrative mode. The obvious influences on Mari Magno are Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (which Clough clearly echoes in his framework for the group, and in the prologue), and Crabbe's Tales (especially in the treatment of separation in love),<sup>53</sup> but there were contemporary influences also, for in the eighteen-fifties a number of poets were making a similar shift to Clough's, from the monodrama or subjective poem, to the more objective form of the verse-narrative. Notable among these were Coventry Patmore, whose Angel in the House appeared in two parts in 1854 and 1856, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who turned to the narrative of modern upper-class life in her Aurora Leigh (1857).<sup>54</sup> Tennyson, too, after his two major monodramas, In Memoriam (1850), and Maud (1855), turned to narrative, at first in medieval treatments of love and marriage in Idylls of the King (1859), and then with more modern subject-matter in Enoch Arden, etc. (1864), and the example of Clough's own experiments in modern

narrative in the Mari Magno tales may have influenced the Laureate's switch to these short modern narrative-poems.<sup>55</sup> It is notable how so many of these poems are concerned with the theme of marriage. George Brimley had written, in an early essay on Patmore, that "wedded love has been almost uniformly rejected, as offering no available material for high poetry, except in its corruption", and rejected the "spasmodic" absurdity of courtship as an overworked subject, to claim that "married love" presented "capabilities of noble and beautiful poetry."<sup>56</sup> Clough seems to have aimed at just this change of focus, in his description of his modern pilgrims:

Of marriage long one night they held discourse,  
Regarding it in different ways, of course.  
Marriage is discipline, the wise had said,  
A needful human discipline to wed;  
Novels of course depict it final bliss, -  
Say, had it ever really once been this?<sup>57</sup>

The impulse for Clough to begin the first of his new group of tales came from reading the latest part of Patmore's sequence on marriage, Faithful for Ever (1860). In this, significantly, Patmore had abandoned the more experimental Prelude sections of The Angel in the House for a flatter, more prosaic treatment, and had turned to one of Clough's own favourite subjects, an inter-class marriage. Clough wrote to C.E. Norton on February 15 1861, "Did you read Patmore's Faithful for Ever? I like it, on the whole, better than the others."<sup>58</sup> The first of the Mari Magno tales, "The Lawyer's First Tale", takes up Patmore's new manner, and almost

too colloquial tone, and is the only one of the tales to use Patmore's metre, octosyllabic couplets. It has been suggested that Clough intended the tale as a parody on Patmore's poem, and the openings show a clear parallel, but Clough's version seems simply an affectionate borrowing of Patmore's form, rather than an indirect criticism upon it.<sup>59</sup> Clough's change of manner in the Mari Magno tales was sparked off by Patmore, but was part of a general literary concern in the later eighteen-fifties with the narrative of modern marriage, as a reaction against the "spasmodic" subjectivism of the preceding years. It was presumably this element of literary fashionability that enabled J.A. Symonds to predict that Mari Magno was "likely to be the most popular portion of his works."<sup>60</sup>

Nonetheless, though such external influences are clearly important, it was Clough's own changed personal outlook that allowed him to respond with such readiness to the change in literary fashion. He used the newly prominent genre of the verse-narrative, to rewrite into stable form many of the themes which had long preoccupied him. As Mrs. Clough noted, after his marriage Clough

did not cease to think about the problems which hitherto had occupied his leisure, [but] ... he thought about them in a different way, and was able, so to speak, to test them by the facts of actual life, and by the intuitions and experiences of those whose character he valued, instead of submitting them only to the crucible of his own reflection. 61

Several of the tales show this changed perspective on old concerns. The first tale itself is a semi-autobiographical treatment of Clough's own adolescence, and the Rugby holidays he had spent with cousins in North Wales, and in its use of the "county ball" as

a symbol for the hero's timidity and social marginality recalls the similar use of the dance image in the eighteen-forties.<sup>62</sup> The outcome of the story, when he meets the cousin he has loved in Switzerland, only to discover she is on her honeymoon with his old friend Helston, seems a direct borrowing from Patmore, but also recalls the idea from Amours de Voyage, that delay in following one's instincts in love leads to unhappiness. The second story, "The Clergyman's First Tale", reworks much the same theme, and the echoes of Claude in Amours de Voyage are made much clearer, for the hero is allowed a long soliloquy in which he weighs up the pros and cons of declaring his love. His question,

Are there degrees of love, and different kinds

Proportioned to the sizes of our minds? <sup>63</sup>

seems a deliberate echo of Claude's speculation that "There are two different kinds, I believe, of human attraction".<sup>64</sup> The heroine's comments on his apparent desertion of her are also very close to Mary Trevellyn's last comments on Claude.<sup>65</sup> In the outcome of the story, however, Clough allows a significant difference; for, after years of wilful separation, while the penniless hero works as a clerk, the couple eventually meet quite by chance, respond to the "old natural feeling of their youth", marry and live happily ever after: the final lines, with their refrain and their hope for the future, voice for the fictional hero the kind of love and hope Clough had expressed in "Songs in Absence". The last tale of the Mari Magno sequence also reworks a theme from Clough's earlier poetry, the love of an English Oxonian for a Highland lassie.



This was "The Lawyer's Second Tale", much of which, by a curious irony, Clough dictated to his wife on his death-bed. In this new version, the Oxford fellow, meeting the Scotch girl in a dance like that described in The Bothie, falls in love with her, sleeps with her, and takes her to Glasgow, fully intending to marry her: pregnant, and persuaded by her relatives that he will break his promise, she emigrates to Australia. Many years later, when he is a successful London literary man, well married but childless, his "Highland bride" returns home with their son, whom he happily adopts and she, as happily, surrenders: this last episode, of course, echoes Dipsychus continued, but has been rewritten to give a guilt-free meeting, and a happy ending.<sup>66</sup> The framework of Mari Magno also recalls Clough's earlier poetry; for two of the chief narrators, the Lawyer and the Clergyman, represent the two "worldly" careers, which Claude and Dipsychus had both despised as weak compromises with social pressures. Now, in this last work, professional men have become the mouthpieces of Clough's wisdom. Clough's new treatment of old themes had radically altered both the outcome and the moral judgements of his earlier works.

There was a change also in the way he handled the re-worked material in his manuscript drafts. The manuscripts of Mari Magno are for the most part hurriedly and illegibly written, and one of the tales, "The Officer's Story", was left unfinished: Mrs. Clough added a cautionary note to the 1862 edition, warning that the tales "had never been revised" by Clough, and apologising for "the somewhat unfinished state in which they appear".<sup>67</sup> Most critics since then have duly made some allowance in their evaluation of the tales for

the fact that Clough might have removed some of the grammatical awkwardness had he lived longer. The kind of unfinishedness in these tales is, however, very different from that in, say, Adam and Eve or Dipsychus. It is simply a lack of finish in surface phrasing, not any marked instability about narrative structure or tone. There are differences of wording, and additions and deletions of short passages, between the rough drafts in Clough's 1861 diary, and the fair copies he made from them, but there are no differences of story-line or characterisation.<sup>68</sup> As Wendell V. Harris has commented, "there is no question as to the kind of stories Clough wished to tell ... short of radical re-writing, Clough's changes could only have been for the purpose of polishing".<sup>69</sup> The borrowing of existing literary forms, the retrospective reuse of autobiographical elements, and the element of affectionate stylistic parody which runs right through Mari Magno, perhaps account for the rapidity with which Clough was able to write the work, and these features all suggest a parallel with the rapid composition of The Bothie in the autumn of 1848, which also had an uncharacteristically stable text.

The only development which the manuscripts reveal in Clough's ideas for the poem, comes, not in the text of individual tales, but in his gradual elaboration of the plan for grouping the various tales together. From Mrs. Clough's memoir of her husband, we know that two of the tales were written on the journey to Greece, and the rest later in the summer.<sup>70</sup> At this stage, with two tales similar in manner, but in different metres and of different lengths, Clough could hardly have been thinking of a Chaucerian sequence. One of the other tales to appear in the diary, and therefore to be among

the earlier ones drafted, is "My Tale", which describes travelling in France, but bears no relation to the subjects of love or marriage. A.M. Turner has plausibly conjectured that it was only after several tales had been written that Clough conceived the idea of grouping them together, and that the addition of the "Corrente calamo" section to "My Tale" was to make it seem more relevant to the announced theme of the story-debate.<sup>71</sup> The main manuscript source for the tales (MS. A) contains a plan for the poem, which consists only of a prologue and epilogue, and four tales (three of which had been fully drafted in the diary), so Clough's idea of the scale of the project was an evolving one, rather than a predetermined plan.<sup>72</sup>

The case of Mari Magno is an interesting one, simply because it is so different from most of the poetry of Clough's major period. The change which Clough had gone through in the eighteen-fifties was not a superficial one of wilful adaptation to conventional morality or conventional ideas of poetry, but went deep into his very nature, and affected the way in which he worked at poetry. The "constructive phase" of his thought and life is paralleled by a phase in his writing which shows a remarkable stability of text. He did not achieve such interesting or such complex poetry within this new mode, as within the earlier exploratory one, but the fact that his method of composition had to change so radically confirms both the extent he himself had altered, and the centrality of the writing process to his personal life.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to survey the various kinds of revision and rewriting in poetry from all phases of Clough's career in order to elucidate the nature of his concern with poetry, and the changes in the way he approached composition at different periods of his life. What has emerged strongly is the way in which the textual development of Clough's poetry corresponds to the development of all his processes of thought. In spite of the Romantic theories which influenced him at Rugby, and in spite of the many other Victorian exhortations to immediacy and spontaneity, Clough's poetic drafts show, like all his thinking, the importance of second thoughts and of repeated revision. The complexity of Clough's major poetry is related directly to the variability of attitudes and intentions which are revealed in the drafting process, and Clough's poetry is at its best when he was able successfully to include in his final "edited" text the fluctuations of perspective which can be seen separately and successively in his early drafts.

Such a study has, I think, certain more general implications for the textual critic. The chief model to which textual critics now work is the editorial one, in which variant material is collated against a final and definitive authorial version of the poem. Variant readings from early drafts or intermediate versions have, in such a collation, to be related to the author's final line-ordering, and the absence of lines from an earlier version is often not recorded, merely the positive differences of wording within each line. It can prove difficult to reconstruct from even the

fullest formal textual apparatus the actual form of a poem at any earlier stage in its development, even if the changes the author made are not particularly sweeping, and they show the author to have been gradually converging on his final view of the poem.

With a poet like Clough, the "editorial" model is particularly confining, for, in the more or less prolonged course of their composition, most of his poems remained in a state of textual fluidity, and the ordering of lines and the "shape" of a poem may only be fixed at a very late stage, if at all. The problem can be dealt with in a number of different ways. First, early versions can, for shorter poems, be printed in full in the textual notes: this has been a strategy newly adopted, though only in a very few instances, by Professor Mulhauser for his revised Oxford edition of the Clough Poems. Secondly, very full headnotes to each section of a poem may be provided, stating in which manuscripts which lines appear, and introductory notes can list in full the contents of each manuscript: this is the policy used in the accompanying edition of Amours de Voyage, and has been used also, though with less detail, in Professor Mulhauser's expanded notes to Dipsychus. Both these policies are costly in production, and the second is still fairly demanding on the time and patience of a critic seeking to reconstruct an early version. Neither policy can really take account of the innumerable instances in the Clough poems where it is uncertain to which poem a scrap of verse belongs in the earlier stages of rough drafting.

There is, however, a third method, closer to literary criticism than to any editorial pattern for dealing with variant material, and

that is narrative interpretation, of the kind attempted here, which can present to the reader the divergent ideas of the poem implicit in each stage of rewriting. The approach is not new, of course, and has in the past been particularly useful for dealing with the voluminous textual variants left by nineteenth-century novelists, but it is often thought of as primarily biographical in intent (tracing the genesis of a work), rather than as a meaningful way of presenting intractable textual materials. Such interpretative textual study is unlikely to be definitive in the way an editor can aspire to being, and the very fluctuations of the poet's attitudes during revision, and even within a single revision stage, can make it difficult to write a clear narrative account. Ideally, perhaps, the interpretative and the "editorial" models of textual criticism should go hand in hand, but there seems little purpose in producing elaborate textual apparatuses if they are only to be used for fishing out the odd early phrase to confirm some interpretation of the final text.

Particularly in the case of a poet like Clough, where the draft versions of his poetry remain very unstable in text and are frequently left without a final version being fixed by the author, the critic will be more just to the poetry and the poet if he writes an interpretation of the development of a poem, than if he strains to accept as authorial irony the accidental inconsistencies within a late version that have resulted from multiple re-writing. With a poet whose poetic intentions were as personal as those of Clough, and one whose mind was as self-conscious and as critical as his, there will, for many of the poems, be no final text on which the



critic may confidently work. By a curious paradox, the best Clough poems are those which, rather than presenting the reader with a settled text or settled convictions, take us into the very process of his rethinking and rewriting, and enable us to share the creative unsettledness of their author.

APPENDIX I : THE TEXTS OF "THE LONGEST DAY"

"The Longest Day" occurs in three versions - two manuscripts and the printed text. From a full collation of substantive variants, it is possible to work out the relationship between the three texts; to show that the clearest text is the earliest, not the revised, version; and thereby to confirm the interpretation of Clough's revisions given in chapter 2 above. Only one of the three versions is dated, and the relationship between the texts is therefore of great importance in narrowing down possible dates for the other two versions. For the manuscripts, I adopt Professor Mulhauser's sigla (Poems, p.807), but I have not followed his use of the misleading sign MS.2 for the printed text. The three texts are:

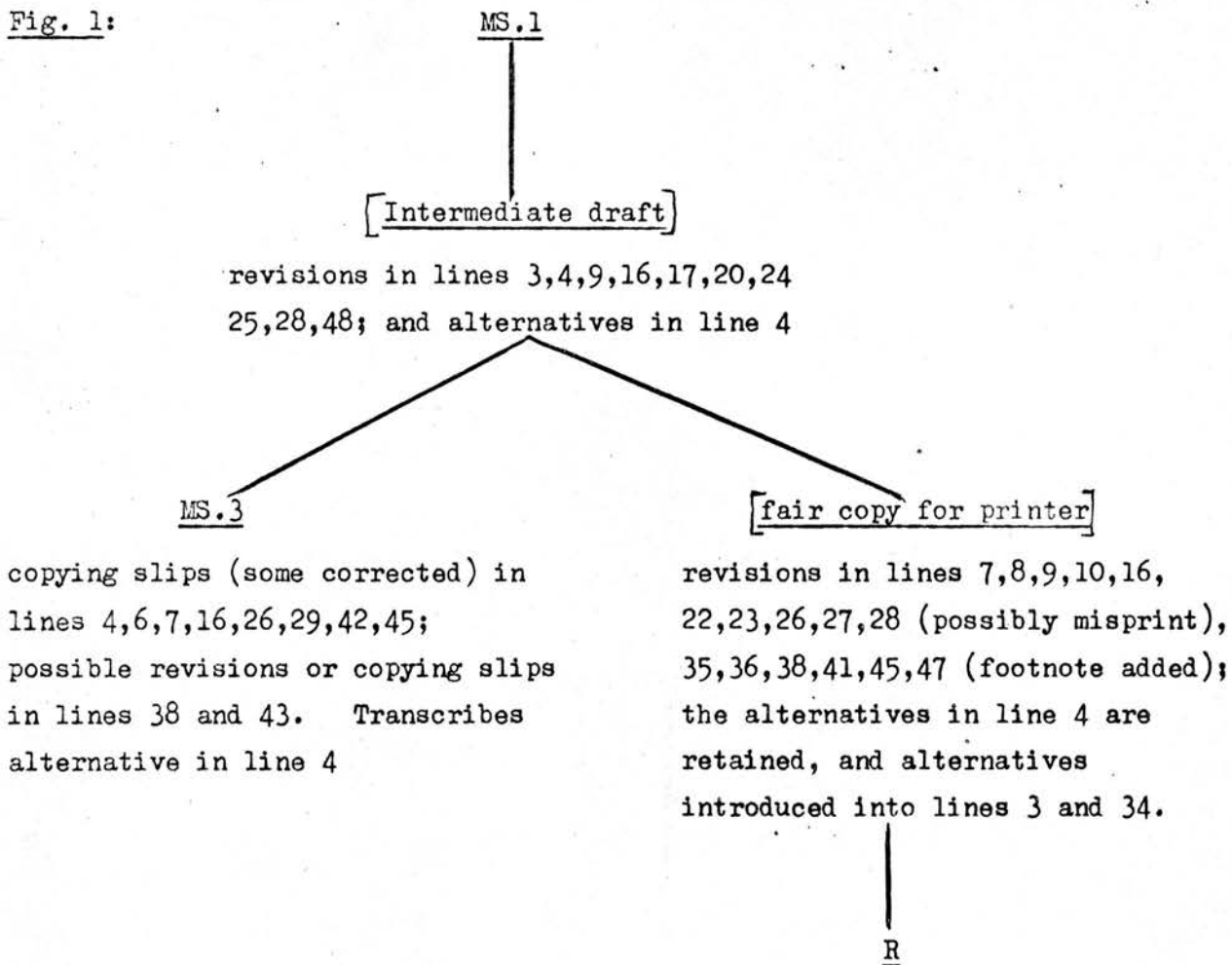
1. the fair copy school-exercise (Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 359, ff.148-9). This is collated here as MS.1. It is a double leaf of white paper, and some alterations have been made in the text, but there are no variant readings left without a decision for one or the other.
2. the manuscript copy sent to Mrs. Clough by J.C. Shairp in 1862 (Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d.178). This is collated here as MS.3. This is a much rougher manuscript, with much carelessness in copying, with crossings out, and with alternatives left in line 4. Professor Mulhauser identifies the hand as Shairp's ("a copy written out by J.C. Shairp"), and some of the copying errors suggest that it is non-authorial, but Clough's own hand varied greatly, even within short spaces of time.

3. the printed text (British Library C.57.d.10.4). This is collated here as R (for Rugbaean: see above, chapter 2). This is clearly printed, without obvious printing errors, but appears to be a page-proof for a magazine contribution. There are alternative readings left undecided in lines 3, 4 and 34.

While all three texts agree in the final reading of twenty-six lines, and all three disagree about the reading of six others, the remaining eighteen lines follow no obvious pattern. There are six lines where R agrees with MS.3 against MS.1; two lines where R agrees with MS.1 against MS.3; and ten where MS.1 agrees with MS.3 against R. Professor Mulhauser's sigla seem to indicate that he thinks the Shairp manuscript to derive from the end of the revision chain, a last and bad text. But the "odd" instances in the collation are clearly the two lines which would support such an inference - lines 6 and 43, where R agrees with the early MS.1, against the Shairp manuscript MS.3. MS.3 is very carelessly written anyway, and these variants may simply be copying errors, uncorrected (e.g. "light" for "flight" in line 6). The simplest explanation of the relationship between the texts is to see MS.3 as a copy of the revision-stage which led to the printed text - that is as a careless and imperfect representation of a draft now lost, but intermediate between the 1836 manuscript and the printed text. The printed text itself could not have been set from MS.3, or from the intermediate draft, so a lost printer's fair copy manuscript must also be postulated. R incorporates most of the readings in MS.3 which seem to be deliberate revisions of MS.1, but does not have any of the copying errors which MS.3 introduced. R also itself introduced a

substantial number of further revisions beyond those made by the intermediate draft. The relationship between the texts, and the different revision-stages can therefore be represented diagrammatically, as in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1:



Since MS.3, whether in Shairp's hand or not, came from Shairp; since it is too careless and rough to have been written out specially as a fair copy for Mrs. Clough; and since collation indicates that it derives from a stage earlier than R, the printed text, it becomes valuable evidence in strengthening the argument made above (from other evidence also), that the R text, and the revision of "The

Longest Day", date from Clough's undergraduate period, rather than from his schooldays, before he knew Shairp. Whether or not this argument is accepted, the R text clearly represents a revised stage, later than the manuscript MS.1 reproduced in the new Oxford edition. Clough's revisions of "The Longest Day" introduced alternatives, rather than adjudicated between them.

Collation of Substantive Variants, against MS.1 (Poems, pp.479-80).

3. scarcely MS.1] soon will MS.3, R] scarcely R alternative.
4. E'en before thee, Thou MS.1, MS.3, R] Or yield them to  
the MS.1, canc.  
Shortest MS.1, MS.3 alternative, R] longest MS.3, R alternative.  
night MS.1, MS.3, R] day MS.3 canc.
6. the MS.1, R] his MS.3 (copying slip?)  
flight MS.1, R] light MS.3 (copying slip?)
7. that MS.1, MS.3] the R  
joyous MS.1, MS.3, R] glor- MS.3 canc. (copying slip 'glorious'?)
8. above hath shone MS.1, MS.3] his course hath run R.
9. Yea sweet ye are MS.1] O sweet ye are MS.1 canc.] Yes,  
sweet, ye are MS.3] Yes! sweet are ye R.
10. and MS.1, MS.3] thou R.
16. conquests MS.1] conquest MS.3 (copying slip?)] glories R.  
that past MS.1] the past MS.3, R.
17. snowy MS.1] icy MS.3, R.
18. glorious in MS.1 the word is written into a space previously  
left, and with the cancelled readings in lines 4, 9 and 30, may  
be evidence that this MS. was made during an early stage of  
composition.

20. pause at this the MS.1 (error in Poems, p.807)] linger at  
the MS.3, R.
22. Where MS.1, MS.3] When R.
23. tone MS.1, MS.3] note R (cf. line 35 below)
24. thine high MS.1] thy proud MS.3, R.
25. O well indeed MS.1] Yes! and full well MS.3, R.
26. Thy purer MS.1] The purer MS.3 (Copying slip?)] That  
wiser R.
27. oh, t'were MS.1, MS.3] it were R.
28. that MS.1] thy MS.3, R.  
humbler MS.1, MS.3] humble R (possible misprint).
29. tell in MS.3 this word was first omitted in copying,  
and then inserted.
34. clomb...climb MS.1, MS.3, R] stood ... stand R alternatives  
(probably an attempt to avoid the clumsy poeticism of  
clomb: a misprint in Poems, p.807, attributes these alternatives  
to MS.1 ).
35. tone MS.1, MS.3] note R.
36. shall MS.1, MS.3] will R.
38. now MS.1] thus MS.3] here R.
39. Is there no echo MS.1, MS.3, R] And tell it nought then MS.1, canc.
41. O MS.1, MS.3] Yes! R.
42. wiser MS.1, MS.3, R] wider MS.3, canc. (copying slip?)
43. him MS.1, R] thee MS.3 (slip leading to nonsense?)
45. Yea MS.1, MS.3] For R.  
flowers MS.1, MS.3, R] suns MS.3, canc. (copying slip from line 46?)
47. footnote in R reads: Fruits wherin lieth nepenthe, flowers which  
are flowers of amaranth. COLERIDGE. Greek Classic Poets.
48. darkness MS.1] winter MS.3, R.



## APPENDIX II

# A. H. Clough's *Poems* (1862): The English and American Editions

P. G. Scott

ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH spent his early childhood in America; his nickname at Rugby School was "Yankee"; it was to America that he returned in 1852 in search of freedom, after his disappointing experience as Principal of University Hall, London; his long narrative poem *The Bothie* was reprinted at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1849; several of his shorter poems appeared in magazines in America in the early fifties; and it was in the American *Atlantic Monthly* that Clough's epistolary verse-novel *Amours de Voyage* first appeared in 1858. When Clough died in 1861, a new American edition of his poems was being seen through the press by Charles Eliot Norton. Yet, strangely enough, the possible relationship between the two posthumous editions of the following year, American and English, has not been fully studied, nor the importance of the American text sufficiently recognized.

"Strangely" because considerable attention has, over the years, been given to the complications of the Clough texts, and much of that attention has focused on the posthumous editions of 1862. Do the 1862 editions fulfil Clough's latest intentions, or were they put together by their editors from the manuscripts he left? If the second, then they have no authority against those manuscripts which survive. The very substantial Oxford English Texts Clough *Poems* (1951) paid particular attention to the "large and bewildering mass" of manuscript material, to try to get behind the 1862 texts to Clough's own final wishes.<sup>1</sup> The Oxford *Poems* has been subjected to very sharp attack from R. M. Gollin, for not taking this policy far enough: "the posthumous editions," Gollin wrote, "have little or no authority against the manu-

<sup>1</sup> *Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry, A. L. P. Norrington, and F. L. Mulhauser (Oxford, 1951), hereafter *Poems*: a summary of the textual policy is given on p. viii. I should like to thank Professor Mulhauser for discussing the argument of this paper with me, and to acknowledge research grants from Leicester and Edinburgh Universities.

scripts."<sup>2</sup> Examination of the relation between the English and American editions shows that, for certain sections of Clough's work, the posthumous editions have greater authority than any extant manuscript. Gollin's attack rested on the supposition that the 1862 texts were solely the product of editorial work on the manuscripts by Mrs. Clough and her late husband's friends. Where his supposition was correct, his attack was, of course, justified. But the attack can be seen to be much less damaging when it is realized that for substantial sections of the 1862 text, the English edition was printed from proofs of the American edition, which in turn was set up from copy prepared by Clough himself before his death. In several instances, the American edition preserves readings which were misprinted or unauthoritatively rewritten in the production of the English edition. Even in cases where neither of the posthumous editions of 1862 is authoritative, the American edition can be a guide to the kind of editorial intervention exercised by Mrs. Clough, and from its variants can be reconstructed the nature of the copy which Clough had prepared, even when the English 1862 editors chose to use an earlier manuscript as the basis for their text.

#### THE BACKGROUND

As early as 1854, Charles Eliot Norton had been asking Clough to aid him in producing an edition of Clough's shorter poems for America. Clough had refused to attempt the necessary revision just then: "I don't think I can set to work to unravel my weaved-up follies at this present moment . . . I dislike returning to old things—but I *should* like to print something at Boston."<sup>3</sup> Clough did send some poems across, and Norton's plan was to get Fields, of Ticknor and Fields, to publish the collected edition. Clough even sent the as-yet-unpublished poem *Amours de Voyage* for inclusion.<sup>4</sup> The project never seems to have got off the ground, though, and a new manuscript of *Amours de Voyage* was sent across the Atlantic for its magazine publication by James Russell Lowell in 1858. New efforts were made, however, in 1858, and a number of references to the edition appear in Clough's

<sup>2</sup>R. M. Gollin, "The 1951 Edition of Clough's *Poems*: A Critical Re-examination," *Modern Philology*, LX (1962), 120-127: p. 124.

<sup>3</sup>*Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. F. L. Mulhauser (Oxford, 1957), II, 477-478 (28 February 1854).

<sup>4</sup>*Correspondence*, II, 482 (12 May 1854).

correspondence with Norton.<sup>5</sup> Among the material which Clough then sent over were corrections to the magazine text of the *Amours*, and a marked-up copy of the 1848 English edition of *The Bothie* with many alterations.<sup>6</sup> Much of this material is now in the Houghton Library at Harvard, but not the marked-up copy of *The Bothie*, or, indeed, anything else that could have been used directly as copy for the printer. There were, however, numerous delays in the preparation of the edition, and it had not been printed, though it seems to have been set up in proof, when Clough died at Florence on 11 November 1861, after many weary travels in search of health.

Very soon afterwards, when Mrs. Clough got back to England and her children, she decided to prepare a new English edition of Clough's poems (no English edition had appeared since the half-share in the volume *Ambarvalia* in 1849). She wrote off to Norton:

Will you tell me when you write how it stands now about the little collection of poems which he sent you . . . would you kindly tell me exactly what you have? I believe I have copies of all; if I remember I copied most of them, but I can't remember which were sent.<sup>7</sup>

She had not yet received Norton's reply when she sent off another letter to him:

We are now thinking . . . of having his poems republished together with some late additions. Would you be so kind as to let me have what you have in America.<sup>8</sup>

Norton's replies to these letters, unfortunately, are not now among either the Clough or Norton papers, but he appears to have told Mrs. Clough that the Boston edition was almost ready to print, for she returned to the topic a week later:

My dear Mr. Norton,

I can write only a few lines to try and catch tomorrow's steamer, because I think I must ask you not to have anything more done about publishing my husband's poems till I write again . . . I do not feel sure that it would be right

<sup>5</sup> Especially *Correspondence*, II, 561-562 (28 December 1858), and II, 565 (16 March 1859). Cf. *Poems*, p. vi.

<sup>6</sup> The first corrected copy of *The Bothie* was lost, and Clough had to send a second one.

<sup>7</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 609 (11 November 1861). The last comment could mean that Blanche Smith Clough's Notebook, dated 1852 by the Oxford editors, could also include copies made circa 1858 of the revised texts then being sent to America.

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 612 (15 January 1862).

to have it done in America at the same time as at home, by a different publisher.

The letter, which must have been a sore trial to Norton's good manners and his publisher's probity (the poems had no American copyright), went on to reveal that Mrs. Clough was not in the ideal position to edit her husband's poems:

I would *very much* like, but I fear it would be very troublesome, to have copies of the little things you have. There are several I cannot, now our house is let, lay my hands on with certainty that they are the right ones [most Clough poems exist in several manuscripts] . . . what I most care about is to have his corrections of the *Bothie* and of *Ambarvalia*.<sup>9</sup>

Happily, Norton proved a kind and tolerant friend to Clough's widow. He and Ticknor held up the printing of their edition, while Mrs. Clough made arrangements with Macmillan for the publication of an English edition. Proofs of the Boston text were sent over to Mrs. Clough, and used as copy for sections of the Macmillan text. Many alterations and additions which Mrs. Clough proposed were made also to the Boston text, and the appearance of the American edition was delayed until late August/early September 1862, though the English edition appeared in July 1862. This two-way exchange of proofs and letters gave rise to a very complicated relationship between the two 1862 editions. I give first a short description of the two editions, and then try to clarify the relationship between the two by examining each section of the texts separately.

#### THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN EDITIONS

The English edition was printed by Spottiswoode and Co., and published by Macmillan, price six shillings. It is usually referred to below by the 1951 editors' sign 1862, but where this might cause confusion the term "the English edition" or "the London edition" has been used instead. The title page reads:

POEMS / BY / ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH / SOMETIME FELLOW OF  
ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD / WITH A MEMOIR / MACMILLAN AND

<sup>9</sup> Harvard 1360 (24 January 1862). Unpublished letters are cited by their location (Harvard or the Bodleian) and then by the library's own numbering. Unpublished material is quoted by permission of Miss Katherine Duff; the Harvard College Library; and the Keeper of Western Manuscripts, The Bodleian Library. Mrs. Clough's letters to Norton at Harvard are catalogued b MS 1088 (1360-90).



CO. / CAMBRIDGE [black letter type] / AND 23 HENRIETTA STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN / LONDON [black letter type] / 1862 / [*The right of  
translation is reserved*] [this line bracketed on title page]

It is a small octavo (page size 16.9 x 10.6 cm). It collates  $\pi^8$ ,  $a^6$ , B-R<sup>8</sup>, S<sup>2</sup>. Presumably gathering S was imposed with gathering a. There are half-titles before each of the four sections of the book, and, though most of these sections do not correspond to the divisions between gatherings, it is worth noting that the shorter poems occupy, exactly, gatherings B-F, and that the *Bothie* half-title which follows begins a new sheet; this possibly relates to the change in the order of printing of the sections made in late April 1862 (see below, "Minor Poems"). It suggests that *The Bothie* had already been begun by the compositors by that time, and that the number of shorter poems to be included was thereafter governed at least partly by the physical format of the book — the wish to fill exactly the five sheets allowed. This might explain the exclusion of some minor poems originally intended for inclusion. The pagination is xxviii + 259 pp. Francis Turner Palgrave's *Memoir* occupies pp. v-xxiv. The book is bound in a green honeycomb grained cloth, stamped on the front cover with a pattern of rules in black and gold; the same pattern is blind-stamped on the back cover. The front cover is also gold-stamped with a roundel, containing a Greek cross, and the initials A H C. The spine is stamped in gold at the head POEMS. / BY / A. H. CLOUGH. (between double gold rules and a single black one); at the foot is stamped MACMILLAN & Co. / 6/- (over a black rule, and two gold ones). The endpapers are a dark red-brown. The cover-size is 17.6 x 10.8 cm.

The American edition was printed by Welch, Bigelow and Company, and published by Ticknor and Fields. Sheets of this edition were subsequently sold with a title page dated 1870, with the publishers given as Fields, Osgood and Co.<sup>10</sup> The edition is referred to below as *Boston*, or "the American edition." The title page reads:

[within a single rule] THE POEMS [T and P in fancy square blocks] / OF  
/ ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. / WITH A MEMOIR, / BY / CHARLES  
ELIOT NORTON. / [ornament: acorn] / [ornament: T, for Ticknor, on a  
shield] / BOSTON: / TICKNOR AND FIELDS. / 1862.

<sup>10</sup> This transfer explains why in 1884 the publisher was given as Osgood: "Collection towards a bibliography of Arthur Hugh Clough," *The Literary World*, XV (28 June 1884), 213. I wish to thank Miss Duff and Mr. Simon Nowell-Smith, for the loan of copies of *Boston*.

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The book is of 32mo size, but gathered as octavo (page size 13.9 x 8.3 cm). The prefatory matter is signed with lower-case letters, and the body of the book with numerals: [a]<sup>8</sup>, b<sup>8</sup>, c<sup>2</sup>, [1]<sup>8</sup>, 2-18<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>. Presumably gathering c was imposed with gathering 19. There are half-titles before each of the sections of the book, and the pagination is xxxvi + 299 pp. Norton's Memoir occupies pp. [xi]-xxxvi. The book is bound, like others of the same Ticknor series, such as the Longfellow and Lowell poems, in royal blue grained cloth, blind-stamped on the front and back covers, and gold-stamped on the spine: CLOUGH'S / POEMS within a floral frame. The endpapers are brown, and all page edges gilt. The cover size is 14.5 x 8.4 cm. The sale price was 75 cents.

The obvious difference between the two editions, apart from the different prefatory memoir, is the change of sequence of the various sections. *Boston* runs *The Bothie*, *Amours*, *Mari Magno*, *Minor Poems*; the English edition has the shorter poems, *The Bothie*, *Amours*, and *Mari Magno*.<sup>11</sup>

## THE BOTHIE

*The Bothie* had first appeared as *The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich* in 1848, and had been reprinted in America the following year. Clough made heavy revisions to the poem for the projected American collected edition, by marking up a copy of the 1848 printed text. He originally did this during February 1859, and on the 18th of that month he promised to dispatch the revised copy to Norton within a week.<sup>12</sup> This first marked copy, however, got lost in transit, and on 9 June 1859 Clough told Norton that he would "set to work to fit out another one."<sup>13</sup> This would be mainly clerical rather than intellectual labor, as Clough had by him the rough working copy of his corrections, marked in over the years in yet another copy of the 1848 edition, the one 1951 called *A*. It was July of the next year before Clough got another copy fitted out, and, since he then wrote

<sup>11</sup> For lists of contents for 1862, and of differences in the contents of *Boston*, see R. M. Gollin, W. E. Houghton, and M. Timko, *Arthur Hugh Clough, A Descriptive Catalogue* (New York, 1967), pp. 32-34. This states, p. 43, that *Boston* omitted "My mind is at rest" from AT VENICE: in fact, the section was included in *Boston*, but was not divided off from the previous section.

<sup>12</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 563-564.

<sup>13</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 568, 569.



to Norton for advice about a safe way of getting the corrections across the Atlantic, it was October 1860 before the copy was dispatched.<sup>14</sup> The corrected copy does not survive among the Norton papers, or in the Clough family papers, but quite clearly a later and better copy than *A* was in existence, in America, in 1860-61, and represented Clough's final intentions about the *Bothie* text.

On the other side of the Atlantic, when Mrs. Clough was preparing the English edition, she did not have a clear copy of Clough's intended revisions. She wrote to Norton, "what I most care about is to have his corrections of the *Bothie*," and "I am now very anxious to have from America the copy of the *Bothie* with his corrections."<sup>15</sup> Norton promised to send off the proof sheets of the text set up in America from the corrected copy, and by 10 April 1862 Mrs. Clough reported to him that these American proofs were in the hands of the English printers.<sup>16</sup>

For *The Bothie*, therefore, it is clear that the nearest we can now get to the missing corrected copy is the Boston text, even though the Boston printers were lavish with their added punctuation. Where the English text differs from Boston, the English printer is in error. The English text varies in 123 readings from the Boston text — mostly, of course, in accidentals. Only where American practice differed from British (as in putting punctuation before rather than after closing quotation marks) does the English text agree with 1848 against *Boston*. In the overwhelming majority of cases, and in all where any difference of sense is involved (including all substantive variants), *Boston* agrees with 1848 against the English 1862 text. Substantive variants where the *Boston* reading should be preferred are at III.150, III.191, IV.8, IV.80, IV.129, V.31, V.67, VII.101, IX.89, and IX.180.<sup>17</sup> At two points, the English edition corrected obvious misprints in *Boston*: at V.41 ("horse-buck" for "horse-back") and at VI.90 ("cruise" for "cruse"). Here, of course, the English corrections should be accepted. The *Boston* punctuation, obtrusive though it is, will contain Clough's alterations to the 1848 punctuation, and be a better guide to Clough's meaning than that of the English text, where either Mrs. Clough or

<sup>14</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 577, 578, 581.

<sup>15</sup> Harvard 1360 (24 January 1862); Harvard 1361 (6 February 1862).

<sup>16</sup> Harvard 1362 (5 March 1862); Harvard 1364 (10 April 1862).

<sup>17</sup> The 1951 editors had preferred the *Boston* reading on other grounds at III.150, III.191, IV.8, IV.80.

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Spottiswoode's elaborated considerably. For instance, at IV.89, the English text adds in commas, making nonsense of the first phrase. (Ideally, punctuation for an edition of *The Bothie* would follow 1848, emending where necessary from *Boston*.) The text of *The Bothie* shows the dependence of the English edition on the American one in its simplest and most direct form.

## AMOURS DE VOYAGE

In the case of Clough's second long poem, the relationship of the texts is slightly more complicated, though again the greater authority lies with the American edition. *Amours de Voyage* was first published, in a much shortened form, in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1858. When Clough was projecting the American book edition, he regretted the extent of his earlier excisions, and sent to Norton two lists of revisions and additions to be made to the text: most of the additions were passages from the earlier, longer, manuscript versions of the poem, now to be restored to their original places.<sup>18</sup> Since these lists survive in Norton's papers, they, together with the printed 1858 text, are the authoritative sources for Clough's final intentions about the *Amours* text. As the Oxford editors noted, the 1862 editions simply followed Clough's instructions, more or less accurately, and drew on no authority not available to a modern editor.<sup>19</sup> Neither the English nor the American 1862 edition has here any independent authority.

Nonetheless, Clough's corrections had to be transmitted from Norton to the English printer somehow. Mrs. Clough asked Norton to send her "another copy of the *Amours de Voyage*" on 6 February 1862, and again on 5 March.<sup>20</sup> By 19 March, however, she had got further into her late husband's papers, and wrote to Norton: "I have a copy of *Amours de Voyage* — considerably corrected from the original. I do not know if the one you have is the same as in the magazine."<sup>21</sup> In fact, the copy she had found seems to have been not a corrected

<sup>18</sup> The lists are with his letters to Norton, at Harvard: Harvard b MS Am 1088 (1329, 1330), 24 March and 11 April 1859. I am grateful to Miss Suzanne Flandreau of the Houghton Library for locating them for me.

<sup>19</sup> *Poems*, p. 513. Since the 1951 editors recognized this, it is hard to understand why they chose 1862 as their copy-text.

<sup>20</sup> Harvard 1361, 1362.

<sup>21</sup> Harvard 1363.

one, but the early manuscript, MS. *A*, now in the Bodleian. Norton sent in reply at least four packets of proof-sheets, so we may assume that this would include proofs of *Amours de Voyage*. The basic means by which the *Amours* text was transmitted from Norton to England was as proofs of the *Boston* edition as in the case of *The Bothie* — so much is shown by the collation, though the evidence from the letters is less certain. But the letters raise a further question: did Mrs. Clough alter the text she received from America by inserting any readings from her "considerably corrected" manuscript copy?

There is some evidence that she did make such an insertion from MS. *A*. The Oxford editors noted two lines (II.23–24) which occur in the English 1862 text, but which were not in 1858, or in Clough's list of corrections. They suggest that the lines were "perhaps inserted by editors in 1862 from MS. *A* which has *exertion* corrected to *endeavour* in line 24."<sup>22</sup> Their suggestion is entirely correct, for the lines do not occur in the *Boston* text, which follows Clough's corrections. Their insertion was an inspiration of Mrs. Clough's, and should surely not now be included in the text. Similarly, Mrs. Clough's chauvinism could not allow Clough's expression "stupid old England" to pass into the 1862 edition at II.25. "Stupid old England" was the reading of 1858, and it had not been corrected in the letters, so it remained in the *Boston* text. Mrs. Clough looked in MS. *A*, where a cancelled reading had been "old foolish England," and corrected the proof-sheets to "poor foolish England," the reading of the English 1862 text, and of 1951. Again, surely, Clough's reading should be restored. At II.43, Mrs. Clough substituted "which" for *Boston*'s "these," another reading taken from MS. *A*. (A parallel to these borrowings from an earlier version can be seen in Mrs. Clough's subsequent treatment of *The Bothie*, in 1863 for the second edition of the *Poems*: she reinserted cancelled lines from Book IV of the 1848 text, without, apparently, any special reason for doing so.) There is one further difference between the English and American texts of *Amours* suggesting deliberate alteration by the English editor: the Latin footnote to Letter I.viii has been completely revised.

Most of the variants between the two 1862 *Amours* texts arise like the *Bothie* variants, simply from the process of re-setting the text in England. There are substantive errors in 1862, due to misprinting, at

<sup>22</sup> *Poems*, p. 516.

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I.145, I.191, II.38, II.42 (*Boston* had changed 1858's "and" to "arc," but kept "most plain"), II.206, II.261, III.178, III.189, III.191, and V.173.<sup>23</sup> At II.72, an omission in *Boston* (of "a") has been followed by the English text. At V.97 and V.165 *Boston* failed to follow the corrections ordered by Clough, and the failure was of course repeated in the English text. At III.9 and III.300, the English text rather strangely adopts the spelling "chesnut" for the "chêstnut" of 1858 and *Boston*. At IV.24, a misspelling by *Boston* is corrected by London; at V.199 a misprint in *Boston* is repeated in London; and at II.340, the English text prints "Louise" for the "Louisa" of 1858 and *Boston*. In this last instance, the English text follows Clough's corrections more faithfully than does *Boston*, but the emendation is one which could have been made without knowing Clough's expressed wish — the printer's reader might have been trying to restore some normality to the chopping and changing spelling which Clough gave to the name, to fit the demands of his metre.

The accidental variants between the two texts confirm that the English text was set from the American one. Of some forty accidental variants, all but three show the *Boston* text giving the 1858 punctuation, while the English text has changed it without any authorization. The three exceptions suggest that Norton made a final check of the *Boston* proofs of *Amours de Voyage* after he had sent copies over to England. At I.1 and IV.55, the English text is closer to 1858 than is the *Boston* text; at I.155 the *Boston* text gives the question mark asked for by Clough in his list of corrections, while 1858 and 1862 both have a semicolon. In summary, the *Boston* edition is a fairer guide to Clough's final intentions for the *Amours de Voyage* text than is the English edition, but only because it is nearer in the line of transmission to Clough's corrections to 1858, and therefore more faithful to them.

## MARI MAGNO

The *Mari Magno* tales were composed after preparations had been completed for the American edition: Clough himself never prepared the tales for publication, and the correspondence between Mrs. Clough and Norton about their inclusion in the posthumous edition makes

<sup>23</sup> The Oxford editors correct their copy at many of these points, on the evidence of 1858, and the silence of the Clough letters.



clear the difficulty she felt in getting the rough manuscripts ready for the press.<sup>24</sup> The textual situation, as a result, reverses that of the other two long poems — the American text derives from England. The derivation was not from proof-sheets, but from a manuscript copy made by Mrs. Clough, and differing in many accidentals from that she sent to the English printer. On 5 March 1862, Mrs. Clough was not intending to include the *Mari Magno* tales in 1862 at all, but to send a copy to Norton in case they were suitable for separate publication in the *Atlantic Monthly*: on 19 March she reported that she had "this week" sent *via* Trübner's a copy of the tales, but not for Norton to print.<sup>25</sup> On 25 April she wrote to Norton that she wished now to include three of the stories, and sent also "on another sheet" some manuscript notes of revisions to the text which would be necessary to link the three into a sequence such as Clough had planned for his more ambitious collection of eight verse-stories. No doubt these alterations of Mrs. Clough's are the ones now among Norton's papers. She commented: "It appears to me that your edition will be far more advanced than ours, and that you may be glad to go on with the printing of the tales before we reach them."<sup>26</sup> Ten days later, however, she wrote another letter in which she said: "we have been looking over the *Mari Magno* and making a few alterations: for it seems to me very obscure. If there is time, these alterations can be made in your edition." The letter is endorsed by Norton: "corrections made according to directions within. C.E.N."<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, the corrections do not seem to have been carried out uniformly in the published *Boston* edition. Corrections asked for in "The Lawyer's Tale" (properly "The Clergyman's First Tale") lines 21-22, and 272, were not made by Norton. Conversely, a correction in the same tale, at line 270, requested by Mrs. Clough and made in *Boston* by Norton, was not in fact incorporated in the English edition. Neither Mrs. Clough's linking alterations, nor her later corrections, have any authority, and most of the many differences between the texts of *Mari Magno* in the 1862 editions are simply the result of differences between the manuscript copies made by Mrs. Clough to act as printer's copy in America and England. In summary, as the Oxford editors showed in 1951, any modern editor of *Mari Magno* must disregard the 1862 editions, and work from Clough's own manuscripts and dictated copies, rough

<sup>24</sup> The matter is discussed fairly fully in *Poems*, pp. 551-553.

<sup>25</sup> Harvard 1362, 1363.

<sup>26</sup> Harvard 1366; the corrections are now in Harvard b MS Eng 1036 (2).

<sup>27</sup> Harvard 1367.

though those are. The comparison of the *Boston* and English editions merely emphasizes the extent to which the printed 1862 texts were the result of heavy editorial intervention, by Mrs. Clough and her advisers in England.

#### THE MINOR POEMS: I — AMBARVALIA

The shorter poems, which opened the *English* edition and concluded the *American* one, were printed as one sequence, but fall into two groups when the provenance of their text is considered. The first group were those which had been printed by Clough in his section of *Ambarvalia*, a joint-volume of poems with his friend Thomas Burbidge, published in 1849; the second group were those which were being printed from manuscript in 1862, though some of them had previously appeared in magazines. Poems from both sources had been prepared and revised by Clough for publication in the projected American edition, but Mrs. Clough added other poems to Clough's selection, and deleted a few. In general, the *Boston* text worked from Clough's authorized revisions for the poems he had planned to include, but the English text, even for those poems, introduces readings from earlier, less authoritative, manuscripts. Some of the readings introduced into the text by Mrs. Clough were, at her wish, also made in the *Boston* text at a late stage. Neither the *Boston* text nor 1862, therefore, presents "authoritative" texts of either of the two groups of poems, but the differences between them (which are not apparent from the 1951 textual notes) reveal to what extent the Harvard manuscripts preserve Clough's latest intentions.

Twenty-six poems from the collection *Ambarvalia* were included in the 1862 posthumous editions. Fifteen of them were ones which Clough himself had intended to include in the American edition. In all accidental variants (nearly a hundred in the twenty-six poems) 1862 is closer to the printed *Ambarvalia* text of 1849 than is *Boston*. Both 1862 texts were presumably, therefore, printed directly from a copy of 1849, and certainly for this section of the book, the English text was not derived from the American. Either the American printer or Norton himself was very free in correcting punctuation; it is possible, though unlikely, that the additional punctuation in *Boston* came from a corrected copy of 1849 sent by Clough to Norton. If such a copy ever existed, it is, like the printer's copy of *The Bothie*, no longer among the Norton papers. In two or three places only is Boston's



punctuation clearly the better. Boston differs slightly from 1862 in the titling of some poems. Three sonnets are titled SONNET, where 1862 gives no title: in the first instance, *Boston* has the authority of Clough's 1858 instructions for the innovation. *Boston* follows 1849 in giving the Greek title to "If when in cheerless wanderings," one of the poems Mrs. Clough had added to those selected by Clough. Both 1862 editions use "*Sic Itur*" as a title for "As at a railway junction," an addition only found earlier in Clough's corrected copy *A*. In "The Questioning Spirit," *Boston* misprints "think" as "drink."

The variants in the accidentals and the titling might suggest that the *Boston* text of the *Ambarvalia* poems was of no value, being merely derivative. The substantive variants show that this is not the case. Substantive variants occur only in two poems, "*Qui Laborat, Orat*" and "The New Sinai" ("When Israel came out of Egypt"), and in each instance *Boston* agrees with 1849 against the English 1862, suggesting that Mrs. Clough made innovations in the text of the two poems of which Norton was unaware, and that the alterations were not intended by Clough when he was preparing the American edition in 1858. In "*Qui Laborat, Orat*," line 13, *Boston* reads "sure-assured" for 1862's "well-assured," and in line 25 *Boston* reads "As wills Thy will, or give or e'en forbear" for 1862's "But, as thou willest, give or e'en forbear"; yet in line 10 *Boston* shares with 1862 the alteration of 1849's "abide" to "remain." In "The New Sinai," lines 71-72, *Boston* follows 1849, not 1862, for most readings, but incorporates 1862's revisions in lines 60, 64, 69, and 80. These two poems are the only two for which manuscript corrections were made by Clough in copy *B* of his separately-bound 1849 poems, and the explanation of the variants in the 1862 texts must be that Mrs. Clough decided to draw on *B*'s readings for 1862, and that the alterations were only partially carried out in the *Boston* text. The variants are evidence that Clough had not felt the alterations to be authoritative in 1858, and therefore leave Mrs. Clough's use of *B* as the only external evidence that the copy was intended to be an authoritative source for emendation. Since we know that in other instances (in *Amours* for 1862, and *The Bothie* for 1863) Mrs. Clough emended from unauthoritative manuscript sources, there is no firm reason why the *B* revisions should be incorporated in a modern edition.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> On the corrected copies, see *Book Collector*, XIX (1970), 194-202, and my forthcoming essay on "Intention and Authority in Clough's *Ambarvalia* corrections."

Some of the *Ambarvalia* poems included in 1862 and *Boston* were not intended by Clough for the collected edition. Where such poems vary from the 1849 text, even where the variants are shared by both 1862 editions, the variants are unauthoritative, being the result of Mrs. Clough's editing: for instance, there seems to be no authority in the letters or corrected copies for the omission in 1862 of the first 28 lines of "Are there not then two musics."

#### MINOR POEMS: II

It was among the other minor poems (the "shorter poems" of the 1951 text) that Mrs. Clough made most additions to the selection Clough had planned; it does not seem to have been Clough's intention to include more than a very few of these, yet there are some thirty-five in the 1862 text (thirty-six in *Boston*). There were also some deletions by Mrs. Clough from Clough's lists. "In the Great Metropolis" had been in the first *Boston* proofs of this section, but was removed by Mrs. Clough, originally for insertion into Palgrave's Memoir, and then omitted altogether.<sup>29</sup> Some of the additional poems were sent over from England to Boston in manuscript, and some alterations were conveyed in proof-sheets of the English edition. Mrs. Clough wrote to Norton that "there will be some alterations in the small poems . . . it would probably be better to wait till the proof-sheets can come back from England of the last poems."<sup>30</sup> To let the Boston printers proceed with this section, she altered the arrangement of the book in the English edition, setting up the minor poems as the first section, instead of the last as in *Boston*, so that proof-sheets would be among the first available, and so that *Boston* would get proofs of "all the new small poems" from England.<sup>31</sup> As late as 10 June 1862, Mrs. Clough was writing: "I hope you will have had the proof sheets by this time of the minor poems."<sup>32</sup> The result of all this editorial concern was to leave the minor poems as one of the sections of the 1862 editions least faithful to Clough's wishes. The interchange of proofs sometimes altered a text even when the *Boston* text had originally been based on Clough's latest revision.

For some poems, Mrs. Clough did not have a manuscript available

<sup>29</sup> Harvard 1365 (18 April 1862); Harvard 1370 (17 July 1862).

<sup>30</sup> Harvard 1363 (19 March 1862).

<sup>31</sup> Harvard 1366 (25 April 1862).

<sup>32</sup> Harvard 1368.

in London, and it seems likely that for these the English text derives from the *Boston* proofs, not from manuscript. Such were "The Song of Lamech," "Oh, Thou whose image in the shrine," and "It fortifies my soul."<sup>33</sup> Mrs. Clough also told Norton that she did not have a copy of "Peschiera" (of which "*Alteram Partem*" is in both 1862 editions simply a subsection); yet she must later have found her manuscript, for she made alterations to the *Boston* text in line 7 ("sentries' boxes, yellow, black" changed to "sentry boxes yellow-black"), and in line 28 ("while" changed to "when"), both readings accepted by the Oxford editors on manuscript evidence. A copy of "Blessed are those who have not seen" was sent by Norton to Mrs. Clough, and, though she subsequently asked for it to be omitted,<sup>34</sup> and left it out of the English edition, it remained in the *Boston* text; in including it, *Boston* is more faithful to Clough's wishes.

In other poems, though Mrs. Clough had manuscript available, the *Boston* text prints the more authoritative version. As early as January 1862, Mrs. Clough had been able to show a copy of "Bethesda, a sequel" to J. A. Froude, for his opinion; he approved of it, and Mrs. Clough printed it, as he had suggested, after "The Questioning Spirit."<sup>35</sup> But the latest Clough autograph of this poem is in the Norton papers, and Mrs. Clough's 1862 text does not follow the Norton text. 1862 omits lines 24-27, while *Boston* includes them. Similarly, in "Hope evermore and believe," line 14 reads "earth" in *Boston* and in the manuscripts, but 1862, nonsensically, reads "girth."

Perhaps the most interesting variants, though, are in the text of "The Latest Decalogue." This poem survives in two manuscripts, of which Mrs. Clough had one in England (of 24 lines, MS.1), while Norton had the other in America (of 20 lines, MS.2). The *Boston* proof sheets were set from MS.2. Mrs. Clough, finding that *Boston* differed from her manuscript, substituted the MS.1 readings for MS.2 readings when preparing the copy for the London printer, but did not insert the four extra lines in MS.1. The changes must have been only partially incorporated in the *Boston* text, when the English proofs were sent over, for in lines 4, 5, 13-14, and 15 the MS.2 readings survive in the published American edition. This reconstruction of events sounds

<sup>33</sup> Harvard 1362 (5 March 1862); Harvard 1363 (19 March 1862).

<sup>34</sup> Acknowledged in Harvard 1363 (19 March 1862). Omission asked for in Harvard 1365 (18 April 1862).

<sup>35</sup> Bodleian 1108 (20 January 1862).

very complicated, but only so, I think, can the shortening of the English text, and the mixture of readings in the *Boston* text, be explained. MS.2 is now at Harvard, and is a fair copy with very careful punctuation, an unusual feature of a Clough manuscript: there is a marginal note to lines 13-14, "n.b. observe commas."<sup>36</sup> That this manuscript was used by Norton for *Boston* suggests that it may be Clough's revised text of the poem, and that Mrs. Clough's recourse to the readings of MS.1 (which dates from 1849) was unauthoritative.<sup>37</sup>

The *Boston* variants from 1862 in the text of these minor poems sometimes preserve Clough's intentions, but in most cases the interchange of proofs ensured that the two 1862 editions had a unanimity, whether of truth or error. The policy decided on by the Oxford editors (to follow manuscript for the minor poems rather than either 1862 text) is clearly the right one. The divergences between the English and American editions chiefly emphasize that for many of the minor poems Mrs. Clough did not have any firm idea of her husband's latest intentions.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Clough's literary remains were unusually complicated and disorganized. Small wonder, then, that the posthumous editions were not perfect, when a recently-widowed and young Victorian mother was left to grapple with an extremely complex task. The Oxford *Poems* of 1951 were the product of thirty years work, while less than eight months elapsed between Clough's death in Florence and the publication of the English edition of 1862. "It has been difficult to me from the work being somewhat new," Mrs. Clough confided in Norton after her task was completed, "and I have not been very strong, and have suffered a good deal from my head often when the thing has to be done in a particular time."<sup>38</sup> But the posthumous editions were not the product of Mrs. Clough's unaided skill. The variance between the American and English editions, together with the external evidence of the letters from Norton's papers at Harvard, shows that the 1862 text derives for two major sections, and some minor ones, from the prepa-

<sup>36</sup> It is among Clough's 1859 revisions of *Amours de Voyage*: Harvard 1330.

<sup>37</sup> MS.1 was dated by M. A. F. Borrie in *British Museum Quarterly*, XXVII (1963-64), 9-11: cf. *Notes and Queries*, CXIII (1967), 378-379.

<sup>38</sup> Harvard 1368 (10 June 1862).



rations that Clough had himself made for an edition of his works, as transmitted through the *Boston* proofs. It is too sweeping to say that "the posthumous editions have little or no authority against the manuscripts," as R. M. Gollin has said. The editions must be evaluated section by section, for the provenance and authority of the sections varies.

The case demonstrates neatly the influence of the Atlantic on nineteenth-century textual transmission, and also the potential importance of American editions in the editing of English authors. What Mrs. Clough wrote to Norton in 1862 was true of Clough's texts as well as of his thought: "at least in some ways he has been more deeply understood, more treasured at any rate, with you than with us."<sup>39</sup> Because of the origins of the American edition of 1862, it is possible for a cautious modern editor to find in the posthumous editions guidance to the use of the extant manuscripts, guidance not provided nearly so reliably by the English edition. In the American edition of 1862, a modern editor will find for *The Bothie* an authoritative text which cannot now be recovered from any other source.

<sup>39</sup> Harvard 1363 (19 March 1862).

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE

Further confirmation of the relationship outlined above is given in two additional sources. The letters between Mrs. Clough and Macmillan in the period 1862-63 have been separated from the main Macmillan archive (in the British Library), and are in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, and show that printing of the English edition did not begin until Mrs. Clough received American proofs (letter of March 28 1862). The papers of the American publisher, Ticknor and Fields, are in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, and show extensive correction in Norton's edition at proof stage, including the cancellation of over forty pages (presumably of minor poems being re-set): Harvard fms. Am. 1185. 6 (3), p.274.

APPENDIX III

P. G. SCOTT

## SOME UNCOLLECTED AUTHORS XLVII

## ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH

INTEREST IN THE poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61) has been growing steadily over the past twenty years or so. The massive edition of his *Poems* published by the Clarendon Press in 1951 revealed, for the first time to most readers, both the extent and the quality of his writing. Since then there have been editions of his *Correspondence* and his *Prose Works*, and a steady growth in the number of full-length biographical and critical studies. The resurgence of interest has been greatly advanced by the extraordinarily rich collections of poetic manuscripts, preserved by the family and by the poet's friend Charles Eliot Norton, which are now housed in the Bodleian Library, Balliol College Library, and the Houghton Library of Harvard.

The richness of the manuscript collections has served to divert attention from the poems as Clough published them, yet Clough himself wrote, in an undergraduate essay of 1837, that it 'does seem beyond a doubt that for the perfection of literature Printing is necessary', and, from the prize poem published when he was sixteen to the American edition of his *Poems* he prepared shortly before his death, he produced a steady stream of publications. As is often the case with relatively small-circulation poetry, the bibliography of Clough's published works is complicated. It illustrates many of the characteristic features of Victorian publishing, including periodical publication, transatlantic piracy, massive authorial revision, variant bindings, the interchange of proofs between England and America, variant title-pages and, eventually, stereotyping. Strangely enough, there is not yet a Clough bibliography which can serve as a reference guide for collectors, librarians and textual scholars. (There has been a substantial enumerative bibliography, including manuscripts, editions and secondary works, edited by R. M. Gollin, W. E. Houghton and Michael Timko, and published in 1967.) Librarians and collectors have had to rely on their own experience, standard reference books and occasional published notes to catalogue their Clough



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items. The aim of this article is not to challenge the previous enumerative bibliography, but to revise and fill out those entries with more exact descriptions, and to bring together in one list summaries of the previous, scattered, published comment.

The scope of this bibliography is, then, Clough's separately published work, up to the *Poems and Prose Remains* prepared by his widow and J. A. Symonds in 1869. In addition to Clough's separate publications, brief entries are also included for some other 'collectable' items, such as the school magazine to which he contributed regularly and which he eventually edited, and the American anthology *Thalatta*. For a full list of Clough's periodical contributions, reference should be made to the Gollin-Houghton-Timko *Descriptive Catalogue*; this also contains lists of contents for the volumes of poetry, and I have not repeated those in my entries. The number of the corresponding entry in the *Descriptive Catalogue* is given first in the *Notes* to each of my entries.

I wish to thank the following for allowing me to see Clough items in their possession: Miss Katherine Duff, S. Nowell-Smith, the Keeper of Printed Books at the Bodleian Library, and the Librarians of: Balliol College, the Temple Reading Room (Rugby School), the Tennyson Research Centre (Lincoln), Leicester University, Queen's University (Belfast), Edinburgh University, the Houghton Library (Harvard), the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia and the Library of Congress. For their helpfulness in correspondence, I wish to thank Miss C. M. Hanson, of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale); N. F. Nash, Rare Book Librarian (University of Illinois at Urbana); L. F. London, Rare Book Curator (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill); L. M. Stark, Chief, Rare Book Division, and Francis O. Mattson, Berg Collection (New York Public Library); M. C. Russell (Virginia State Library, Richmond); D. A. Randall (Lilly Library, Indiana University); and Professor James Bertram. For references to publishers' records, I am indebted to Macmillan and Co.; Houghton, Mifflin; the Trustees of the British Library; and the Houghton Library. I acknowledge a research grant from the Faculty of Arts Research Fund, Edinburgh University: and wish to record the encouragement given to me by the late Professor F. L. Mulhauser.

## THE BOOK COLLECTOR

## CHECK-LIST

## ABBREVIATIONS

*Correspondence*—F. L. Mulhauser, ed., *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, 2 vols (Oxford 1957).

DC—R. M. Gollin, W. E. Houghton and Michael Timko, *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue* (New York 1967)—cited by part and item number.

Hayward—John Hayward, *English Poetry, a Catalogue* (London 1949).

NQ—*Notes and Queries*.

*Poems*—H. F. Lowry, A. L. P. Norrington and F. L. Mulhauser, eds, *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Oxford 1951).

*Tinker Library*—Robert F. Metzdorf, ed., *The Tinker Library* (New Haven 1959).

1. THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 1835.  
 THE | CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH | CENTURY. | A Prize Poem, |  
 RECITED IN RUGBY SCHOOL, | WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1835. |  
 [single rule] | RUGBY: | PRINTED AND SOLD BY ROWELL AND  
 SON. | MDCCCXXXV.

Half-title: ENGLISH PRIZE POEM, | 1835.

Imprint: (p. 12) Rowell and Son, Printers, Rugby.

Collation: 4°: [1\* 2\*]: 6 leaves, 12 pp.

Contents: p. [1] half-title; p. [3] title; pp. [5]–12 text.

Size: B.L. copy 17.8 × 11.7 cm; Yale copy 17.5 × 10.5 cm; Berg copy 18.2 × 11.5 cm.

Notes: (DC I 37A.) Five copies are known. One is in the British Library, bound in a volume of Rugby material (Cup.403.c.6): this copy lacks the half-title, and was described in 'Notable Accessions, 1962–63', *British Museum Quarterly*, XXIX (1965), 46. The second copy is in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, which received it as a gift from Dr John Farquhar Fulton in 1934: the copy was once bound but has since been removed from its binding (I am indebted to Miss Hanson of the Beinecke for this information). The paper in both sheets of both these copies is water-marked 'W. Sellers | 1833'. There are no headlines to the text, the pages being numbered centrally from p. 6. The third copy is in the Berg collection of the New York Public Library, and also has the half-title. The fourth copy belongs to Mr S. Nowell-Smith, and the fifth to S. C. Roberts.

2. THE RUGBY MAGAZINE 1835–7.

Notes: This two-volume magazine contains many contributions by Clough, both prose and verse. He was on the editorial committee ('Magazine levy') from its inception, and did much of the editorial work on volume II. The eight separate numbers were first issued in printed brown paper wrappers: the volumes were issued in a dark grey-black cloth, with leather labels with gold

## SOME UNCOLLECTED AUTHORS XLVII

stamping. Many owners seem to have had a special binding on their copies. Clough's contributions are listed in *DC*, Parts I and II (and see also *NQ*, CCXVI, November 1971, pp. 415-6). For completeness, copies should have volume title-pages, non-paginated prefaces to the first and second numbers, and an alphabetical index of contents. There were two printings of the first number: these are easily distinguishable, as the first printing has an advertisement on p. 95, while the second printing has a continuation of the text (see *THE BOOK COLLECTOR XX* Autumn 1971, pp. 386-7).

3. THE LONGEST DAY [? 1840-8.]  
 THE | LONGEST DAY. | *A Poem*, | WRITTEN AT RUGBY SCHOOL, |  
 FOURTH LESSON, | Wednesday, JUNE—1836. | by Arthur Hugh CLOUGH.

*Half-title*: none.

*Imprint*: none.

*Collation*: [1<sup>1</sup>] [2<sup>2</sup>]: 3 leaves, 6 pp.

*Contents*: p. [1] title; p. [2] blank; pp. [3-5] text; p. [6] blank.

*Size*: 20.8 × 12.3 cm as now bound.

*Notes*: (*DC* I 48.) The unique copy is in the British Library (C.57.d.10.4). Attention was drawn to its bibliographical oddity by Wendell V. Harris. 'The Curious Provenience of Clough's *The Longest Day*', *NQ*, CCXII (1967), pp. 379-80. Comparison with other pamphlets in the volume suggests that the title-page was printed in 1847-8, and, less certainly, that the text may have been set for a periodical printed in 1840 (see *The Library*, XXVI, 1971, pp. 342-50). There are headlines on pages 4 and 5 only. The title-leaf is of thin (? proofing) paper, and the text on heavier paper.

4. A CONSIDERATION OF OBJECTIONS . . . 1847.  
 A | CONSIDERATION OF OBJECTIONS | AGAINST THE |  
 RETRENCHMENT ASSOCIATION. | BY | A. H. CLOUGH, | FELLOW  
 AND TUTOR OF ORIEL COLLEGE. | OXFORD: | FRANCIS  
 MACPHERSON. | MDCCCXLVII.

*Half-title*: none.

*Imprint*: (pp. [2], 20) OXFORD: PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

*Collation*: 8°: [1<sup>1</sup> 2<sup>8</sup> 3<sup>1</sup>]: 10 leaves, 20 pp.

*Contents*: p. [1] title; p. [2] imprint only; pp. [3]-20 text.

*Size*: (Beinecke) 22.5 × 15 cm.

*Notes*: (*DC* II 29.) This pamphlet was originally issued stabbed or stitched through the pages, instead of the spine: the stab holes can still be seen in re-bound copies. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally at the head from p. 4. See, for the British Library copy, *The Ashley Library*, I, p. 190 (Ashley 2831), and for the Beinecke copy, *Tinker Library*, item 641. There are copies in the Bodleian, and at Harvard (from the collection of C. E. Norton).

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5. THE BOTHIE OF TOPER-NA-FUOSICH 1848.  
 THE | BOTHIE [red] | OF | TOPER-NA-FUOSICH. | A LONG-VACATION  
 PASTORAL. | BY ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. | *Nunc formosissimus annus.* |  
 OXFORD: [red] | FRANCIS MACPHERSON. | LONDON: CHAPMAN  
 AND HALL, 186, STRAND. | 1848.

*Half-title:* none.

*Imprint:* (p. 55 only) C. WHITTINGHAM, CHISWICK.

*Collation:* 8°: A<sup>a</sup>, B-C<sup>a</sup>, D<sup>a</sup>: 56 pp.

*Contents:* p. [1] title; p. [2] note on metre; p. [3] dedication note to 'My Long Vacation pupils'; p. [4] blank; pp. [5]-55 text; p. [56] advertisement.

*Size:* (see under *Bindings*).

*Bindings:* There seem to be three variants.

(i) stiff cream paper wrappers, with the top cover printed like the title-page, except that the words BOTHIE and OXFORD are printed in black, not red, on all copies seen. The lower cover has the advertisement, as on p. 56. Both covers have a thin rule frame.

*Size:* (wide variations) up to 25.6 × 16.3 cm, more usually, 25 × 15.5 cm.

*See:* Hayward, item 269; *The Rowfant Library*, p. 148.

An error in my Note on the Bothie bindings suggested that the cover should be identical with the title-page, including red printing: see THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIX Summer 1970, p. 240. Subsequent correspondents reported the correct description as a variant: see THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIX Winter 1970, p. 529; XX Summer 1971, p. 249; Winter 1971, p. 531. There is a copy in this binding in the Swem Library (College of William and Mary), which bears the date 'Nov. 29 1848'.

(ii) slaty purple cloth with a fine dotted-line grain (limp cloth on paper, not boards). The top cover is gold-stamped THE BOTHIE OF TOPER NA FUOSICH | BY A. H. CLOUGH.

*Size:* 26.4 × 15.0 cm.

*See:* *Tinker Library*, item 642.

A copy in this binding, at Balliol College, has Clough's draft corrections to the text, with 'Kippoch' for 'Fuosich', and the binding is therefore likely to date from before 1855.

(iii) bright (royal) blue grained cloth, on flexible boards, yellow or creamy-brown endpapers. The top cover is gold stamped in chunky lettering: THE BOTHIE | A LONG VACATION PASTORAL | &c. | BY A. H. CLOUGH.

*Size:* (wide variations), (Rugby School) 24.2 × 15.0 cm; (Miss K. Duff) 24.7 × 15.2 cm; (Balliol—Jowett's copy) 26.4 × 15.0 cm.

*See:* *Tinker Library*, item 642.

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This binding might be a regular issue-binding from Chapman and Hall, though the shorter title *The Bothie* suggests that it is later in date than the other bindings: Clough decided to use the shorter title by early 1855. The binding might be connected with the transfer of sheets from Chapman and Hall to Macmillan in November 1861, prior to the publication of the revised text in *Poems* (1862). I have seen a copy inscribed 'Eliza E. M. Murray | Hornby—July 4 | '63', and copies in Edinburgh University Library have booksellers' tickets from Edinburgh and Oxford. Some copies, though, were used by Mrs Clough for presentation. The copy in this binding in the Temple Reading Room at Rugby was sent by 'one of Clough's relatives': William Tuckwell noted that he possessed a copy of Clough's *Bothie* 'in blue cloth', 'a present from his son' (*Reminiscences of Oxford* 1900, p. 98).

*Notes:* (DC I 70.) This book originally sold at three shillings. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally at the head from p. 6. Another variant of the type noted above under binding (i)—black for red on the cover—occurs in a copy at Rugby School: this is a re-bound copy, with black for red on the title-page. Miss Duff has a copy in a fine binding, inscribed 'Anne Clough— | Nov—1848'. The book was published in November 1848. The final 80 sets of sheets of the 1848 *Bothie* were bought from Macmillan by Mrs Clough in 1879.

6. AMBARVALIA 1849.  
AMBARVALIA. | POEMS | BY THOMAS BURBIDGE | AND | ARTHUR  
H. CLOUGH. | LONDON: CHAPMAN AND HALL, 186, STRAND; |  
FRANCIS MACPHERSON, OXFORD. | MDCCCXLIX.

*Half-title:* AMBARVALIA.

*Imprint:* (title-verso and p. 156) LONDON: | Bradbury and Evans, Printers, Whitefriars.

*Collation:* 8°: π<sup>3</sup> A<sup>1</sup> B–K<sup>6</sup> L<sup>6</sup>: 156 pp.

*Contents:* half-title, verso blank; title, with imprint on verso; divisional title (POEMS | BY | ARTHUR H. CLOUGH.), verso blank; pp. [1]–64, Clough's poems; pp. [65]–[66], divisional title, verso blank; pp. 67–155, Burbidge's poems; p. [156], imprint.

*Bindings:* There seem to have been two bindings of the whole volume, and three of the Clough poems, bound separately (divisional title and pp. [1]–64 only).

(*Joint-volume i*): brown cloth boards, with a frame on the top and lower covers stamped in blind: the frame has a distinctive maltese-cross motif at the corners. On the spine is stamped in gold AMBAR- | VALIA. | LONDON. | CHAPMAN & | HALL., with decorative strips in blind at the head and tail. Binder's ticket: BOUND BY | BONE & SON, |



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[rule] | 76, FLEET STREET | LONDON. (on a rectangular cream ticket, printed in blue, in a blue frame with indented corners).

Size: 17.8 × 10.9 cm.

See: THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIX Summer 1970, pp. 194-6 and Plate I; *Tinker Library*, item 644.

Miss K. Duff has two copies in this binding, one inscribed 'To my dear mother. | A.H.C. | L'pool. March 1849'; the other 'Anne J. Clough | Janry 16th-1849'. The usual date given for publication is 19 January 1849 (see *Poems*, p. 457). There are also copies in the British Library, Bodleian, Houghton Library, etc.

(Joint-volume ii): Professor D. A. Randall has pointed out that the Lilly Library, Indiana University, has a copy in brown cloth, but with different blind-stamping on the covers, and with the spine stamped in gold AMBAR | -VALA | CHAPMAN | & HALL. There is another copy like this in the Swem library, College of William and Mary.

See THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIX Winter 1970, pp. 528-9.

(Separate i): brown cloth boards, blind stamped with the same pattern as the joint-volume binding (i): on the top cover is stamped in gold POEMS | BY | A. H. CLOUGH but there is no gold stamping on the spine. The Bodleian (proof) copy has no binder's ticket, but the B.L. copy has the Bone ticket, as in joint-volume (i), above.

Size: as joint-volume (i).

See: THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIX Spring 1970, pp. 198-9 and Plate II.

There are copies at Balliol College (inscribed 'B. Jowett fr. A. H. Clough'), the British Library (c. 134.b.18: inscribed 'F. T. Palgrave | fr. A.H.C. | (Jan. 1849)'), in the Lilly Library, Indiana (inscribed to J. C. Shairp), and in the possession of Miss K. Duff (inscribed 'B.M.S.S. Combe Decr. 29 1851'). The copy in the Bodleian (MS. Eng. P. Oct. c. 88) is perhaps a pre-publication sample: it lacks the divisional title, and has proofs, not the final sheet, for gathering Sg.E. Mr N. F. Nash has informed me that the Rare Book Room of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has a copy 'in the binding shown in Plate I' of THE BOOK COLLECTOR article: I take it that this must be an unusual example, without the gold stamping on the top cover.

(Separate ii): dark greenish-brown cloth, blind stamped with a frame of interlocking semicircles, the corners of which continue the device into an ogee form: there is no gold stamping on the spine, and the top cover is gold stamped POEMS | BY | ARTHUR H. CLOUGH. in slightly irregular lettering. There is no binder's ticket in the B.L. copy.

Size: 17.8 × 10.9 cm.

See: THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIX Summer 1970, pp. 199-200 and Plate III; *Tinker Library*, item 645.

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There are copies in the British Library (11644.eccc.45; inscription cut out), at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (inscribed to William J. Martineau; with annotations, not necessarily in Clough's hand), in the Beinecke Library at Yale (described in *Tinker Library*: inscribed to C. E. Norton, 23 November 1852), in the possession of Mr Donald C. Gallup of Yale, and in the possession of Miss Duff (inscribed from A.H.C. | Combe | October 28. 1852'). In the Houghton Library at Harvard, there are a further two copies; one is from H. W. Longfellow's library (inscribed 'from A.H.C. | January 1st 1853'), with a note by Norton inserted before the half-title (given in DCI 72): the other is from Norton's own library, and Norton noted that it was given to him by Clough in 1852.

(*Separate iii*): green cloth boards, with a blind-stamped pattern of interlacing curved foliage: the front cover gold stamping, like *separate (ii)*, follows the divisional title in wording, POEMS | BY | ARTHUR H. CLOUGH.; the rather more elaborate patterning and better cloth suggest that this binding was intended for a special group of gift copies. There is no binder's ticket in the copies seen.

Size: 17.5 × 11.0 cm.

See: THE BOOK COLLECTOR XIV Summer 1965, p. 189 and Plate II; XIX Summer 1970, p. 200 and Plate IV.

There are copies in the Bodleian (MS Eng. Poet. c.89), in the Lilly Library, Indiana (with a note about its provenance by C. E. Norton), in the possession of S. Nowell-Smith (inscribed to Florence Nightingale from Clough's widow), and in the possession of Miss K. Duff (inscribed 'Anne J. Clough').

*Notes:* (DCI 72, 73.) The joint-volume originally sold for 4s 6d. The Clough *separate* was probably never offered for sale, but simply used for presentation copies. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally at the top of the page. There are two further copies of the *separate* noted in the *Rowfant Library Appendix*, p. 52, (a presentation copy 'from the author, July 1851, W. B. Scott', and one other), but no description is given of their bindings.

7. THE BOTHIE (AMERICAN EDITION) 1849.  
THE | BOTHIE | OF | TOPER-NA-FUOSICH. | A LONG-VACATION  
PASTORAL. | BY | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. | NUNC  
FORMOSISSIMUS ANNUS. | CAMBRIDGE: | JOHN BARTLETT. |  
1849.

*Half-title:* THE | BOTHIE | OF | TOPER-NA-FUOSICH.

*Imprint:* (title verso only) CAMBRIDGE: | METCALF AND COMPANY, |  
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY

*Collation:* 8°: 1<sup>a</sup> 2-13<sup>a</sup>: 208 pp.

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*Contents:* p. [1] half-title, verso blank; p. [3] title; p. [4] note on metre, and imprint; p. [5] dedication; p. [6] blank; pp. [7]–205 text; pp. [206]–[208] blank. (The final blank leaf is missing from the Library of Congress copy.)

*Running-titles:* (pp. 8–205): THE BOTHIE OF | TOPER-NA-FUOSICH.

*Size:* (page) 18 × 11.2 cm; (cover) 19 × 11.5 cm.

*Binding:* brownish-green paper boards.

*Notes:* (DC I 71.) This unauthorized American edition was printed at the instigation of William Henry Hurlbutt (later Hurlbert: see *Correspondence*, I, p. 272, and *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, p. 424). O. A. Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana* (1852) lists it as '12 mo', selling at 63 cents. Details of size and binding are taken from a copy at Harvard (inscribed 'C. C. Felton, 1857'); I have seen two other copies at Harvard (one from Norton's library), and one in the Library of Congress, all three having been re-bound. The text is obviously intended as a faithful reprint of the English 1848 edition, but there are spelling and punctuation variants, and two misprints ('hwo' for 'who' at V. 82; 'could' for 'should' at VIII. 39).

## 8. THALATTA

1853.

THALATTA: | A | BOOK FOR THE SEA-SIDE. | [*quotation from Xenophon*] |  
BOSTON: | TICKNOR, REED, AND FIELDS. | MDCCCLIII.

*Notes:* (DC I 75.) Pp. viii + 208 (final leaf blank). No editors' names are given in this anthology, but it was edited by S. Longfellow and T. W. Higginson. Poems by Faber, Coleridge, Byron, Keats and Tennyson were included, as well as by Whittier, Longfellow, R. H. Dana, W. H. Hurlbutt, Allingham, Sterling, Kingsley and Clough. Clough's is the final item, 'As ships becalmed', pp. 205–6. Clough commented 'There's an infinity of trash in the book—but it is prettily printed, and Mr. Fields the bookseller gave it me this morning' (11 May 1853: *Correspondence*, II, 429). The Harvard copy is bound in a dark brown narrow-ribbed cloth, blind stamped with a pattern and rules on top and bottom covers, and gold stamped on the spine. It sold at 75 cents, was published on 7 May, 1500 copies were printed, and there was extensive correction at proof stage (see W. S. Tryon and William Charvat, *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields and their Predecessors, 1832–58*, New York 1949, p. 245).

## 9. SPECIMEN PAGES

1855.

(*Title on cover*) [*all within a double-rule frame*] Specimen Pages | OF |  
PLUTARCH'S LIVES. | The Translation called Dryden's. |  
CORRECTED FROM THE GREEK, AND REVISED. | BY | A. H.  
CLOUGH, | SOMETIME FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD; AND LATE | PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
AND LITERATURE AT | UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON. | [*rule*]|  
BOSTON: | LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY. | 1855

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*Half-title:* none.

*Imprint:* none.

*Collation:* 1-3\*: 36 pp.

*Contents:* pp. [1]-36 text—opening of the 'Life of Pyrrhus', as used in the 1859 edition.

*Size:* 23.5 × 14.5 cm.

*Binding:* green paper cover, printed with the title on the front cover, but otherwise blank: there were blank endpapers inside the cover.

*Notes:* (DC II 72.) This pamphlet was intended as a prospectus for the full edition Clough was preparing. There is a copy in the Widener Library at Harvard.

## 10. PLUTARCH'S LIVES (BOSTON)

1859.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. | [rule] | THE TRANSLATION CALLED  
 DRYDEN'S | CORRECTED FROM THE GREEK AND REVISED | BY  
 A. H. CLOUGH, | SOMETIME FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL  
 COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND LATE | PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH  
 LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE | AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
 LONDON. | VOL. I. [VOL. II., etc.] | BOSTON: | LITTLE, BROWN  
 AND COMPANY. | 1859.

*Half-title:* none.

*Imprint:* (title verso only) CAMBRIDGE: | ALLEN AND FARNHAM,  
 STEREOTYPERS AND PRINTERS

*Collation:* (vol. 1) π<sup>a</sup> A-B\* C\* 1-34\* 35\*: pp. (12) + xxxii + 416; (vol. 2)  
 π<sup>a</sup> 1-35\* 36\*: pp. iv + 422 (final leaf blank); (vol. 3) π<sup>a</sup> 1-37\* 38\*: pp. iv +  
 452; (vol. 4) π<sup>a</sup> 1-47\* 48\*: pp. iv + 570 (final leaf blank); (vol. 5) π<sup>a</sup> 1-51\* 52\*:  
 pp. iv. + 618 (final leaf blank).

*Size:* (page) 22.5 × 13.5 cm.

*Binding:* (I have not seen a copy in publisher's binding).

*Notes:* (DC II 72.) This edition was undertaken during Clough's American visit, in early 1853: by 25 June 1853, 310 pages had already been printed (*Correspondence*, II, 451), the prospectus of *Specimen Pages* (item 9 above) was issued in 1855, and in January 1857 Clough expected the first of the five volumes to be published 'next month' (*Correspondence*, II, 525), but as late as May 1859 Clough was still inquiring whether it had in fact appeared (*Correspondence*, II, pp. 567-9). There have been many reprints from Clough's revision—e.g. in *Everyman's Library* (Dent).

## 11. PLUTARCH'S LIVES (LONDON)

1859.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. | [rule] | THE TRANSLATION CALLED  
 DRYDEN'S, | CORRECTED FROM THE GREEK AND REVISED | BY |  
 A. H. CLOUGH, | SOMETIME FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL  
 COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND LATE PROFESSOR OF THE | ENGLISH

## THE BOOK COLLECTOR

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE. |  
LONDON. | *In Five Volumes* | VOL. I [VOL. II, etc.] | LONDON: |  
SAMPSON LOW, SON, & CO., 47, LUDGATE HILL. | [short rule] | 1859.

*Half-title*: none.

*Imprints*: none, (title-verso blank).

*Collation*: (vol. 1)  $\pi^1 2\pi^2 3\pi^1 \Lambda^{*2} 4\pi^2 B^8 C^4 1-34^8 35^4 (-35_4 + \chi^8)$ : pp. (8) + xxxii + 415 (final leaf blank); (vol. 2)  $\pi^2 1-35^8 36^2$ : pp. iv + 422 (final leaf blank); (vol. 3)  $\pi^2 1-37^8 38^4$ : pp. iv + 452; (vol. 4)  $\pi^2 1-47^8 48^4$  (final leaf blank); (vol. 5)  $\pi^2 1-51^8 52^4$ : pp. iv + 618 (final leaf blank).

*Size*: (page) 23.2 × 14.9 cm. (cover) 24.2 × 15.0 cm.

*Binding*: purple dotted-grain cloth boards, blind stamped with a patterned frame on top and bottom covers, and with a patterned spine: the spine is gold stamped PLUTARCH'S | LIVES | [rule] | CLOUGH | VOL. I. [VOL. 2, etc.]

*Notes*: (Not in DC.) This English edition was formed by producing substitute prelims for sheets of the American edition: the prelims are on slightly heavier paper than the American sheets. There are, however, various peculiarities left by this process: the prelims to vol. 1 have been shortened by four leaves, and pages (9)–(12) and i–iv omitted. The signature  $\Lambda^*$  appears on the same leaves as in the American prelims (the third leaf of all gatherings has the asterisk), but the other leaves of the American gathering Sg. A have been re-imposed. The errata list for vol. 1, on p. 415, is a cancel in the English edition, but is integral to the American one. The title-pages of the first two volumes of the English edition omit the line 'In Five Volumes', in the copy in the Widener Library at Harvard. The copy in Edinburgh University Library has the line on all five title-pages. It was bound in England, and published (? August) 1859 at £2 10s 0d for the five volumes (*Correspondence*, II, 569).

## 12. GREEK HISTORY

1860.

GREEK HISTORY | FROM | THEMISTOCLES TO ALEXANDER | IN A  
SERIES OF | LIVES FROM PLUTARCH | REVISED AND ARRANGED  
BY | A. H. CLOUGH | Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford |  
LONDON | LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN AND ROBERTS | 1860

*Half-title*: GREEK HISTORY | FROM | PLUTARCH

*Imprint*: (half-title verso and p. 482) LONDON | PRINTED BY  
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO. | NEW-STREET SQUARE.

*Collation*:  $A^8 B-2H^8 2I^2$ : pp. xvi + 481 (final leaf of integral advertisements).

*Size*: (page) 17.2 × 10.5 cm; (cover) 18.0 × 10.8 cm.

*Binding*: orange-tan wave-grain or patterned-sand cloth, with an elaborate pattern of triangles in a frame blind stamped on top and bottom covers: the spine is gold stamped, with a border at head and tail, GREEK | HISTORY | FROM | PLUTARCH | [short rule] | CLOUGH | [ornament]. Some of the



## SOME UNCOLLECTED AUTHORS XLVII

sand-patterned copies have a binder's ticket BOUND BY | EDMONDS & REMNANTS. | [rule] | LONDON (rectangular, brown on cream paper, in a decorative frame).

Notes: (DC II 73.) This is a reprint for schools of eight lives from Clough's larger edition (items 10 and 11 above): Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, Lysander, Pelopidas, Timoleon, Demosthenes and Alexander. It is illustrated with some forty-four small woodcuts. As early as May 1854, Clough had written to C. E. Norton about his revision: 'I believe it would do admirably for a boy's book' (*Correspondence*, II, p. 482). He resuscitated this project in August 1859, had arranged by November with Longmans to publish six lives, and it was published in late July 1860 (*Correspondence*, II, pp. 570, 572, 577). There were several subsequent reprints (e.g. the 'NEW EDITION', 1866). It originally sold at 6s od. The Edinburgh University Library copy has, in addition to the integral advertisements, another advertisement gathering (24 pp.), dated September 1859, well before publication.

## 13. POEMS (LONDON)

1862.

POEMS | BY | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH | SOMETIME FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD | WITH A MEMOIR | MACMILLAN AND CO. | Cambridge | AND 23 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN | London | 1862 | [*The right of translation is reserved*]

Half-title: POEMS | OF | A. H. CLOUGH

Imprint: (title verso, and p. 259) LONDON | PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO. | NEW-STREET SQUARE.

Collation: 8°: π<sup>a</sup> a<sup>8</sup> B-R<sup>8</sup> S<sup>2</sup>: pp. xxviii + 259.

Contents: half-title, verso with *Macmillan medallion*; title, verso with imprint; pp. [v]-xxiv Memoir (signed F. T. Palgrave); pp. [xxv]-[xxvi] contents list; p. [1] divisional title POEMS | BY | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. (verso blank); pp. [3]-80 shorter poems; p. [81] divisional title THE | BOTHIE OF TOBER-NA-VUOLICH | A LONG-VACATION PASTORAL | [*two mottoes*] (verso blank); pp. [83]-158 *The Bothie*; p. [159] divisional title AMOURS DE VOYAGE | [*four mottoes*] (verso blank); pp. [161]-221 *Amours de Voyage*; p. [222] blank; p. [223] MARI MAGNO | OR | TALES ON BOARD (verso blank); pp. [225]-259 *Mari Magno* (Prologue, the Lawyer's Tale, My Tale, the Clergyman's Tale, Epilogue); p. [260] blank.

Size: (page) 16.9 × 10.6 cm; (cover) 17.6 × 10.8 cm.

Bindings: Binding (ii) is the regular binding.

(i) dull brick red honeycomb grain cloth boards, stamped in black and gold with a pattern of rules on the top cover (same pattern in blind on lower cover): stamped with gold roundel, containing a cross and the initials AHC on the top cover; stamped on the spine at the head with POEMS. | BY | A. H. CLOUGH. (between double gold rules and single black ones), and

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at the foot with MACMILLAN & CO. | 5/- (then a black rule and double gold one). Endpapers are dark red-brown. Binder's ticket: lozenge-shaped, with a garter bearing the words BOUND BY and within the garter BURN | 37 & 38 | KIRBY ST (blue or purple on off-white paper).

This was apparently a pre-publication trial binding: Mrs Clough was sent such a binding by Macmillans on 24 June 1862, and commented on the decision to raise the price from 5/-. The only copy I know of belongs to Mr S. Nowell-Smith, and had been in the possession of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

(ii) green honeycomb cloth boards: size, stamping, spine, endpapers, and binder's ticket are identical with the trial binding, with the one exception that 6/- has been substituted for the 5/-. There is usually a gathering of publisher's advertisements after Sg. S.

See: *Tinker Library*, item 646.

Notes: (DC I 83.) This edition was prepared by Mrs Clough, apparently working from proof sheets of the Boston edition (item 14): on this relationship see *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XX (July 1972), pp. 321-36. It was published in early July: the British Library copy is stamped 11 July 1862. The headlines follow the divisional titles for the longer poems, the pages being numbered at the top outer corner: for the shorter poems section, the pages are numbered centrally at the top. There is a copy in the Tennyson Research Centre at Lincoln inscribed 'Mrs. Tennyson, with BMSC's love'.

14. POEMS (BOSTON) 1862.  
[within a single rule] THE POEMS [T and P in fancy square blocks] | OF |  
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. | WITH A MEMOIR, | BY | CHARLES  
ELIOT NORTON. | [ornament: a small tassel] | [ornament: T for Ticknor, on a  
shield] | BOSTON: | TICKNOR AND FIELDS. | 1862.

Half-title: none.

Imprints: (Title verso) *University Press*: | Welch, Bigelow, and Company, |  
Cambridge.

(p. 299) Cambridge: Printed by Welch, Bigelow & Co.

Collation: a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>2</sup> 1-18<sup>8</sup> 19<sup>8</sup>: pp. xxxvi + 299.

Contents: title, verso with copyright entry and imprint; p. [iii] editor's note  
(verso blank); pp. [v]-vii contents; p. [viii] blank; p. [ix] divisional title  
[ornament] | MEMOIR. | [ornament] (verso blank); pp. [xi]-xxxvi Memoir  
[by C. E. Norton, unsigned]; p. [1] divisional title [ornament] | THE |  
BOTHIE OF TOBER-NA-VUOLICH. | A LONG-VACATION  
PASTORAL. | [two epigraphs] | [ornament] (verso blank); pp. [3]-104 *The  
Bothie*; p. [105] divisional title [ornament] | AMOURS DE VOYAGE. | [four  
epigraphs] | [ornament] (verso blank); pp. [106]-186 *Amours de Voyage*;  
p. [187] divisional title [ornament] | MARI MAGNO. | [ornament] (verso

## SOME UNCOLLECTED AUTHORS XLVII

blank); pp. [189]–222 *Mari Magno*; p. [223] divisional title [ornament] | MINOR POEMS. | [ornament] (verso blank); pp. 225–299, minor poems, as in the opening section of the London edition, with the addition of 'Blessed are those who have not seen' on p. 296; p. [300] blank.

Size: (see under *Bindings*).

*Bindings*: Binding (i) is the regular publisher's issue, in Ticknor and Fields's prestigious 'Blue-and-gold' series.

(i) royal blue grained cloth boards, blind stamped with a floral pattern on top and lower covers, and gold stamped on the spine CLOUGH'S | POEMS within a floral frame. The endpapers are brown, and all page-edges gilt.

Size: (page) 13.9 × 8.3 cm; (cover) 14.5 × 8.4 cm.

Miss Duff has two copies in this binding (one inscribed 'BMSC'; the other 'BMS Clough September 1862'); S. Nowell-Smith has a copy (inscribed 'Baron Donald Mackay | from his friend | C. E. Norton. | Christmas. 1866. | Cambridge.'). There are copies at Harvard, etc., and also now in the Bodleian.

(ii) dark maroon smooth cloth boards, blind stamped with a double-frame on the front cover, and gold stamped on the spine POEMS | BY | A. H. CLOUGH, with gold rules at the head and tail.

Size: (cover) 14.3 × 8.5 cm.

There is a copy in this binding in the Rare Books Division of the New York Public Library (inscribed from C. E. Norton to G. W. Curtis); Mr L. M. Stark writes that there seems no evidence for claiming this binding as primary (cf. *National Union-Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*). It was probably one of a group of copies bound for Norton (the editor) to use for presentation: the Ticknor and Fields sheet-stock books show 25 copies in 'fancy' bindings returned from the binders on 21 August 1862, three more such copies in September, three in October, and a final 15 in May 1863. (Harvard, fMS. Am. 1185. 10 (2), p. 127).

*Notes*: (DC I 84.) This edition was published on 9 August 1862 at 75 cents, and the price raised to \$1.00 from December 1862. There are headlines throughout, the pages being numbered at the top outer corner. On the relation between this edition and the 1862 *Poems* (London), see *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XX (July 1972), pp. 321–36. The edition consisted of 1254 copies, and the Ticknor cost-books show extensive correction, including the cancellation of over forty pages, at proof stage (Harvard fMS. Am. 1185. 6 (3), p. 274).

14A. POEMS (BOSTON) (SECOND EDITION) 1870.  
[within a single rule] THE POEMS [T and P in fancy square blocks] | OF |  
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. | WITH A MEMOIR, | BY | CHARLES

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ELIOT NORTON. | [ornament: a small tassel] | BOSTON: | FIELDS,  
OSGOOD, & CO., | SUCCESSORS TO TICKNOR AND FIELDS. | 1870.

Notes: (Not in DC.) This was a reprint from plates used for the first edition, with a new title-page, but not altered in any other respect; 156 copies were printed in October 1869 (Harvard fms. Am. 1185. 6 (3), p. 315). I have not seen this edition: there is a copy in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, for details of which I am indebted to Mr Milton C. Russell. In *Literary World*, XV (28 June 1884), p. 213, the publisher is given as Osgood. The size and binding of the Richmond copy are as in binding (i) of the first Boston edition.

15. POEMS (SECOND EDITION) 1863.  
POEMS | BY | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH | SOMETIME FELLOW OF  
ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD | WITH A MEMOIR | SECOND EDITION |  
London and Cambridge | MACMILLAN AND CO. | 1863 | [The  
right of translation is reserved]

Half-title: POEMS | OF | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH

Imprint: (title verso and p. 313) LONDON | PRINTED BY  
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO. | NEW-STREET SQUARE

Collation:  $\pi^6$  a<sup>6</sup> B-X<sup>6</sup>: pp. xxxii + 313 (+integral adverts).

Contents: advertisement leaf; half title (verso with *Macmillan medallion*); title (verso with imprint); pp. [vii]-xxviii Memoir (signed F. T. Palgrave); pp. [xxix]-xxxii list of contents; p. [xxxiii] blank; p. [1] divisional title POEMS | BY | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH (verso blank); pp. [3]-91 shorter poems; p. [92] blank; p. [93] divisional title THE | BOTHIE OF TOBER-NA-VUOLICH | A LONG-VACATION PASTORAL | [*two epigraphs*] (verso blank); pp. [95]-169 *The Bothie*; p. [170] blank; p. [171] divisional title AMOURS DE VOYAGE | [*four epigraphs*] (verso blank); pp. [173]-231 *Amours de Voyage*; p. [232] blank; p. [233] divisional title MARI MAGNO | OR | TALES ON BOARD (verso blank); pp. [235]-313 *Mari Magno* (Prologue, The Lawyer's First Tale, The Clergyman's First Tale, My Tale, The Mate's Story, Christian: the Lawyer's Second Tale, Epilogue); p. [314] blank; pp. [315]-[320] three leaves of integral advertisements, separately paginated 1-6 at the bottom outer corner.

Headlines: are used for the longer poems, where the pages are numbered at the outer top corner; in the shorter poems section the pages are numbered centrally at the top of the page.

Size: (page) 17.1 × 10.5 cm; (cover) 17.6 × 10.9 cm.

Binding: dark green honeycomb grain cloth, stamped with a pattern of rules in gold and black on the top cover, and with the same pattern in blind on the lower cover: the top cover is also gold stamped with a medallion carrying the initials AHC. The spine is gold stamped at the head (between double gold rules and single black ones) POEMS | BY | A. H. CLOUGH. and at the foot

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MACMILLAN AND CO | 6/- over a double gold rule and a single black one. The endpapers are rust coloured. Binder's ticket: the lozenge-shaped Burn label, as for the 1862 *Poems*, above.

Notes: (DC I 85.) This edition includes some additional shorter poems, 'improves' the text of other poems (notably *The Bothie*), and adds three stories to *Mari Magno*. The British Library copy is stamped 21 August 1863. There are copies also at University College, London; National Library of Scotland; Balliol College; Harvard; and Yale (inscribed from B. M. S. Clough, 1863; see *Tinker Library*, item 647).

16. LETTERS AND REMAINS 1865.  
LETTERS AND REMAINS | OF | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH |  
SOMETIME FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD. | [*five lines of*  
*verse*] | FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY. | LONDON: | PRINTED  
BY | SPOTTISWOODE & CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE. | 1865.

Half-title: LETTERS AND REMAINS | OF | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.

Imprint: (p. 328) LONDON | PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO. | NEW-STREET SQUARE.

Collation:  $\pi^2 A^1 B-X^8 Y^4$ : pp. vi + 328.

Contents: half-title (verso blank); title, verso blank; pp. [v]-vi contents list; pp. [1]-328 text.

Headlines: LETTERS AND REMAINS OF (versos): ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH (rectos).

Size: (page) 20.0 × 12.8 cm; (cover) 20.8 × 13.1 cm.

Binding: honeycomb grain cloth or sand-grain cloth, with rulings (black and gold) as on the *Poems* of 1862 and 1863; the honeycomb grain cloth is a slightly brighter green. The spine is gold stamped LETTERS | AND | REMAINS | OF | A. H. CLOUGH [.]. The front cover has AHC as a monogram, not on a medallion as in 1862 and 1863. The endpapers are dark brown. There was no binder's ticket in the copies seen.

Notes: (DC I 86.) This volume was a privately circulated edition, not offered for sale, although its production was arranged by Macmillan, and it attracted reviews. Only 250 copies were printed. There are copies at Balliol, Temple Reading Room (Rugby), Bath Municipal Reference Library (re-bound), National Library of Scotland (inscribed 'E. M. Oakley | from Mrs. Clough | July 1867'), Yale (*Tinker Library*, item 648), Harvard, etc.

17. POEMS AND PROSE REMAINS 1869.  
THE | POEMS AND PROSE REMAINS | OF | ARTHUR HUGH  
CLOUGH | WITH A SELECTION FROM HIS LETTERS | AND A  
MEMOIR | EDITED BY HIS WIFE | IN TWO VOLUMES | With a  
Portrait | VOL. I [VOL. II] | LIFE: LETTERS: PROSE REMAINS [vol.  
II: POEMS] | London | MACMILLAN AND CO. | 1869 | All rights reserved



## THE BOOK COLLECTOR

*Half-title:* (vol. II only) POEMS | OF | ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH  
*Imprints:* (vol. I, p. 426, and vol. II, p. 502) *Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, London and Westminster*

(vol. II, title-verso) LONDON: PRINTED BY | SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE | AND PARLIAMENT STREET

*Collation:* (vol. I)  $\pi^2$  a<sup>2</sup> B-2D<sup>2</sup> 2E<sup>2</sup>: pp. 426 (and final advertisement leaf); (vol. II) A<sup>4</sup> B-2I<sup>2</sup> 2K<sup>2</sup>: pp. viii + 502 (and final advertisement leaf).

*Contents:* (vol. I) *engraving* (facing title-page); title (verso blank); PREFACE, verso blank; contents list for first volume, with errata list for both volumes on verso; pp. [1]-54 memoir; pp. 55-269 Letters; p. [270] blank; p. [271] divisional title A CONSIDERATION OF OBJECTIONS | AGAINST THE | RETRENCHMENT ASSOCIATION. | OXFORD 1847. (verso blank); pp. [273]-290 text; p. [291] divisional title REVIEW | OF | MR. NEWMAN'S 'THE SOUL.' (verso blank); pp. [293]-305 text; p. [306] blank; p. [307] divisional title LECTURE | ON THE | POETRY OF WORDSWORTH. (verso blank); pp. [309]-325 text; p. [326] blank; p. [327] ON | THE FORMATION OF CLASSICAL ENGLISH: | AN EXTRACT FROM | A LECTURE ON DRYDEN. (verso blank); pp. [329]-333 text; p. [334] blank; p. [335] divisional title LECTURE | ON THE | DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE | FROM CHAUCER TO WORDSWORTH. | (1852.) (verso blank); pp. [337]-355 text; p. [356] blank; p. [357] divisional title REVIEW OF SOME POEMS | BY | ALEXANDER SMITH AND MATTHEW | ARNOLD. | (Published in the *North American Review* for July 1853, Vol. lxxvii. | No. 160.) (verso blank); pp. [359]-383 text; p. [384] blank; p. [385] divisional title TWO LETTERS | OF | PAREPIDEMUS. | (Published in *Putnam's Monthly*, New York, for July and August, 1853.) (verso blank); pp. 387-402 text; p. [403] divisional title A PASSAGE UPON OXFORD STUDIES: | EXTRACTED FROM | A REVIEW OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY | COMMISSIONERS' REPORT, 1852. | (Published in the *North American Review*, for April 1853, Vol. lxxvi. | No. 159.) (verso blank); pp. [405]-408 text; p. [409] divisional title EXTRACTS FROM A REVIEW | OF A WORK ENTITLED | 'CONSIDERATIONS ON SOME RECENT | SOCIAL THEORIES.' | (Published in the *North American Review*, for July 1853, Vol. lxxvii | No. 160.) (verso blank); pp. [411]-417 text; p. [418] blank; p. [419] divisional title NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION. (verso blank); pp. [421]-426 text; pp. [427]-[428] advertisements.

(vol. II) half-title (*Macmillan medallion* on verso); title (imprint on verso); pp. [v]-viii contents list for second volume; p. [1] divisional title EARLY POEMS. (verso blank); pp. 3-40 text; p. [41] divisional title POEMS ON RELIGIOUS AND | BIBLICAL SUBJECTS. (verso blank); pp. 43-108

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text; p. [109] divisional title DIPSYCHUS (prologue on verso); pp. 111-173 'Dipsychus'; pp. 174-180 'Dipsychus Continued'; p. [181] divisional title POEMS ON LIFE AND DUTY. (verso blank); pp. 183-199 text; p. [200] blank; p. [201] divisional title THE BOTHE OF TOBER-NA-VUOLICH: A LONG-VACATION PASTORAL. | [*two epigraphs*] (verso blank); pp. 203-287 text; p. [288] blank; p. [289] divisional title IDYLIC SKETCHES. (verso blank); pp. 291-297 text; p. [298] blank; p. [299] divisional title AMOURS DE VOYAGE. | [*four epigraphs*] (verso blank); pp. [301]-355 text; p. [356] blank; p. [357] divisional title SEVEN SONNETS | ON THE THOUGHT OF DEATH. (verso blank); pp. 359-362 text; p. [363] divisional title MARI MAGNO | OR | TALES ON BOARD. (verso blank); pp. 365-441 text (prologue, the Lawyer's first tale, the Clergyman's first tale, My Tale, the Mate's story, the Clergyman's second tale, the Lawyer's second tale, epilogue); p. [442] blank; p. [443] divisional title SONGS IN ABSENCE. (verso blank); pp. 445-457 text; p. [458] blank; p. [459] divisional title ESSAYS IN CLASSICAL METRES. (verso blank); pp. 461-468 text; p. [469] divisional title MISCELLANEOUS POEMS. (verso blank); pp. 471-497 text; p. [498] blank; pp. [499]-502 index of first lines; pp. [503]-[504] advertisements.  
 Size: (see under *Bindings*).

*Bindings*: There appear to be two, of which the second is much the more common.

(i) green sand-grained cloth boards, stamped on the top cover with a pattern of five gold rules and two black ones, fretting at the corners, and with an AHC monogram in the centre surrounded by a black ring, and a gold patterned one; the bottom cover is stamped with a single blind rule close to the edges; the spine is stamped in gold ARTHUR | HUGH | CLOUGH | VOL. I [VOL. II] | [*rule*] | LIFE & LETTERS [POEMS] | [*Macmillan medallion*]; at the head and tail of the spine, and below CLOUGH, are double gold rules and a single black one.

Size: (page) 19.0 × 12.6 cm; (cover) 19.7 × 12.7 cm.

There is a copy in this binding in the National Library of Scotland: the similarity to the bindings of *Poems* (1862), and (1863), and *Letters and Remains* (1865) is marked.

(ii) dark green very fine sand-grained cloth boards: the top and bottom covers are blind stamped with a narrow double-frame, not fretting at the corners: the spine has the same lettering and medallion as binding (i), in gold, but at the head and tail there are three gold rules (none below CLOUGH). There is no binder's ticket in the copies seen.

Size: (page) 18.6 × 12.7 cm; (cover) 19.3 × 12.8 cm.

*Notes*: (DC I 87.) This edition was prepared by Mrs Clough, with considerable help from John Addington Symonds. It sold for £1 1s od, and was

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published 7 August 1869. The headlines and page-numbering of volume II (1869) are irregular for the first pages of each section, betraying possible editorial uncertainty about the arrangement of the poems.

*Postscript.* After 1869: Volume I of *Poems and Prose Remains* (1869) formed a separate publication *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Macmillan: London and New York, 1888), with the text re-set, omitting the review of Newman's 'The Soul': the *Prose Remains* were stereotyped, but Macmillan's *Bibliographical Catalogue* (1891), p. 529, notes no subsequent reprints. Volume II formed the basis of a series of single-volume editions of Clough's poems, notably the Third Edition (1871: stereotyped and reprinted 1874, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1882); the Fourth Edition (1883; stereotyped, reprinted 1885); and the Fifth Edition (1888; stereotyped and frequently reprinted, one poem is omitted, and the title-page calls it a 'New edition'). The third and fourth editions included a memoir of Clough. The headings 'third', 'fourth' and 'fifth' editions are used by Macmillan's *Bibliographical Catalogue*, p. 87, but copies of the third and fourth editions are given separate edition numbers on the title-pages, for every reprinting: thus the *Catalogue's* 'fourth' edition has 'Tenth' edition on the title-page.

NOTESABBREVIATIONS

<u>Correspondence</u>	<u>The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough</u> , edited by Frederick L. Mulhauser, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1957).
<u>Poems</u>	<u>The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough</u> , Second Edition edited by F.L. Mulhauser, translation edited by Jane Turner (Oxford, 1974).
<u>Prose</u>	<u>Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough</u> , edited by Buckner B. Trawick (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1964).

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

- 1 Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, CXVI (1893), 515.
- 2 The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a memoir by Charles Eliot Norton (Boston, 1862), p.[iii]
- 3 The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, edited by his wife, 2 vols. (London, 1869), I, preface (unpaginated).
- 4 Michael Roberts, ed., The Faber Book of Modern Verse (London 1936), pp. 11-14. On the general change in critical attitudes to Clough, see W.E. Houghton, "Arthur Hugh Clough: a hundred years of disparagement", Studies in English Literature, I (1961), 35-61, reprinted in his The Poetry of Clough (New Haven, 1963), ch. I; and Paul Veyriras, "Un Regain d'Intérêt pour Arthur Hugh Clough", Etudes Anglaises, XI (1958) 226-8.
- 5 Houghton, The Poetry of Clough (New Haven, 1963), p. 15.
- 6 R.M. Gollin, "The 1951 Edition of Clough's Poems: a Critical Re-examination", Modern Philology, LX (1962), 124.
- 7 See Gollin, p. 125; Geoffrey Tillotson in Mid-Victorian Essays by G. and K. Tillotson (1965), p. 121. The idea is also adumbrated in a review of the 1951 Poems in the Times Literary Supplement (23 November 1951), p. 748.
- 8 F.L. Mulhauser, "Clough's 'Love and Reason'", Modern Philology, XLII (1945), 174-186; especially p. 186.
- 9 Poems, p. 571: letter to Burbidge, December 31 1844.
- 10 See, e.g. Houghton, Poetry of Clough, pp. 93-100; Michael Timko, "The Poetic Theory of Arthur Hugh Clough", English Studies, XLIII (1962), 240-7, and in his Innocent Victorian: the Satiric Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough (Athens, Ohio, 1966) 94-110; and the recent

- discussion in R.K. Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough, towards a Reconsideration (Oxford, 1972), pp. 197-235.
- 11 Wendell V. Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (New York, 1970), p. 60.
- 12 See, e.g. G.P. Johari, "Arthur Hugh Clough at Oriel College and at University Hall", PMLA, LXVI (1951), 405-25, esp. p.422
- 13 Biswas, pp.361, 234.
- 14 Poems, pp.319-20, 735: the rough manuscript draft is in the 1851 (A) Notebook (Bodleian MS. Eng. poet d. 121), f. 20v.-21r, and variants are included in the 1974 edition.
- 15 John Keble, Lectures on Poetry, trans. by E.K. Francis (Oxford 1912) I, 22. This lecture was delivered in 1832, and published (in Latin) in 1844.
- 16 See P.S. McGrane, "Clough's 'Salsette and Elephanta' and The Christian Year", Review of English Studies, XXV (1974), 445-9; Poems, pp.128, 219, 686 etc.; and ch. III below.
- 17 Keble, Lectures on Poetry, I, 22.
- 18 Poems, pp.318-319, 734-5.
- 19 Biswas, p.361.
- 20 Dipsychus, XI, 127-34; Poems, pp.276-7.
- 21 "Letters of Paripedeus. I", Putnam's Monthly Magazine, II (July 1853), 72-74; reprinted in Poems and Prose Remains (London 1869), I, 387-95; in Prose Remains (London 1888), pp.389-96; and in Prose, pp. 172-9, with the title "The Evolution of Criteria in Art and Literature".
- 22 "Recent English Poetry", North American Review, LXXVII (July 1853) 1-30; reprinted in Prose, pp.143-71; partially reprinted in Poems and Prose Remains (London 1869), I, 359-83 and in Prose Remains (London 1868), pp.355-78. On the topic of the "modern poem", see, e.g. Houghton, pp.93-100, or P.G. Scott, Victorian Poetry 1830 to 1870 (1971), pp.6-11.
- 23 Prose, p.172.
- 24 Prose, p.174.
- 25 Prose, p.175.
- 26 Biswas (p.447, in an aside) considers it "magnificent", but does not elaborate. Houghton refers, briefly, to the poem as an example of image-as-simile (p.50).
- 27 Prose, p.174: cf. text and textual notes in Poems, pp.354, 758-9. The Putnam's text represents a mid-point, from which the poem was subsequently further revised in minor matters of phrasing. John



Purkis, A Selection from Arthur Hugh Clough (1967), p.191, wittily comments that the text of the poem is (like the perspective) "also in a state of flux", but the Putnam text was published by Clough himself.

28

See Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry (Oxford 1932); Michael Timko, "Corydon had a Rival", Victorian Newsletter, VII (1961) 5-11, and in his Innocent Victorian (1966), pp.93-110; Wendell V. Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (1971), pp. 139-53; R.K.Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough (1972), pp.213-21; and Dorothy Deering, "The Antithetical Poetics of Arnold and Clough" Journal of English and Germanic Philology (forthcoming).

29

Thomas Arnold, D.D., Introductory Lectures on Modern History (Oxford, 1842), p.395: quoted by R.A. Forsyth, " 'The Buried Life' - The Contrasting views of Arnold and Clough in the Context of Dr. Arnold's Historiography", ELH, XXXV (1968), 218-53, pp.241-2.

30

"A Dream", lines 29-33: in Poems of Matthew Arnold, ed. Kenneth Allott (London, 1965), pp.344-6.

31

"The Future", lines 19-22, 52-57: in Poems, ed. Allott, pp.263-7.

32

Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry (Oxford, 1932), p.146.

33

Poems and Prose Remains, II, 197.

34

Prose, p.175.

35

ibid. These offer a striking parallel to the article by Frederic Rogers, British Critic, XXIV (1838), 271-6, where poetry is to "furnish vent and communication with others" (p.274).

36

This becomes explicit in his summary of the idea of relief. "Oh! happy and happy again, and thrice happy relief to the writer; but to the reader - ?". (Prose, p.177).

37

Prose, pp.175-6.

38

Prose, p.177.

39

ibid.

40

See chapter II, below. Clough was averaging a poem every three weeks in 1835-7.

41

Prose, p.178.

42

ibid.

43

ibid.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1 (cont.) and CHAPTER 2

44

See Poems, pp.206,677. "Not wholly unavailing" also echoes, and rebuts, Dr. Arnold's fears of man's helplessness in the face of change, in his Oxford lectures cited above: "with eyes open and with unavailing struggles we are swept away to destruction". (Introductory Lectures on Modern History, Oxford, 1842, p.395).

45

"Is it true, ye Gods", in Poems, pp.42-3, 592. This poem was added to Clough's Ambarvalia collection (January 1849) at proof stage, though written in 1842. It has been much discussed as an example of Clough's anti-Romantic theory of poetry: see e.g.Houghton, pp.27-30.

46

Prose, pp.178-9, with the misprint "England's" emended to "England" in the fourth line, as in Poems. It is noticeable that he omits, for Putnam's, the opening twenty-six lines of the draft poem, which make the poem a much more common-place invocation on the need for poetry in an unpoetic age (cf. Poems, pp.353-4).

47

[Henry Sidgwick], "The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough", Westminster Review, XCII (October 1869), 363.

48

Prose, p.175.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

1

Poems and Prose Remains, I,10.

2

Poems, p.381, lines 157-62: Clough published such a valentine verse in 1838 (Poems, pp. 508, 809).

3

R.M. Gollin, "Arthur Hugh Clough's Formative Years, 1819-1841" (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Minnesota, 1959), p.122; David Williams, Too Quick Despairer (1969), p.28; Biswas, p.48.

4

These poems, which first appeared in The Rugby Magazine (2 vols. 1835-37) have now been reprinted in Poems, pp.453-508. A recent survey of influences on Clough's juvenile poetry is by Biswas, pp.48-9. For the influence of Tennyson, see P.G. Scott, "Tennyson and Clough", Tennyson Research Bulletin, I, no.3 (1969), 64-70. Samuel Waddington (Arthur Hugh Clough, A Monograph, 1883, p.50) suggests the influence also of Blanco White, and of Whistlecraft. The Rugby Magazine is cited below as R.M.

5

Gollin, as in n.3 above, pp.107-42, esp. pp.136-7, 140-141.

6

J.I. Osborne, Arthur Hugh Clough (1920), pp.29-31; Williams, pp.28-9.

7

Veyriras, p.63; Harris, pp.24-5; Biswas, p.37.

8

There may be in this a conscious identification with his Welsh heritage.

9

"Snowdon", lines 53-4; Poems, p.455 (age 12).

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2 (cont.)

- 10 "An Answer to Memory", lines 5-10, 34-42; Poems, pp.485-6.  
J.N.Simpkinson's "Memory" and Clough's "Answer", appeared together  
in R.M., II (December 1836), 130-35.
- 11 Gollin, p.132.
- 12 Gollin, p.134: cf. p.141, "He insisted that his poems remain true  
to their originating impulse".
- 13 "The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner", lines 113-7; Poems, p.465.
- 14 "The Exordium of a Very Long Poem", lines 21-2, 31-2; Poems, p.478.
- 15 Poems, pp.482-4.
- 16 Correspondence, I, 20 (12 October 1835): Mrs. Clough, in Poems  
and Prose Remains (1869), I, 61, misread "nos. I-II" as "no.III",  
but subsequent discussion in the letter makes the reference un-  
mistakeable.
- 17 Correspondence, I, 34 (30 December 1835). According to R.C. Congreve's  
unpublished memoir of his schooldays at Rugby, Clough had a break-  
down in 1836 (R.C. Congreve, Positivist Papers, vol. 36, f.9:  
British Library, Add.MS. 45261). Clough used an illness, after  
the prize-examinations of April 1835, as an excuse for not writing  
home for several weeks: Correspondence, I, 13.
- 18 [J.P. Gell], "A Schoolboy's Story: Part Two", R.M., I (October 1835),  
117: this two-part article is signed and indexed as by 'P'. Clough  
identifies 'P' as Gell in Correspondence, I, 34. Veyriras, p.52,  
assigns the story to J.N. Simpkinson.
- 19 They had previously been on loan to Professor F.L. Mulhauser, from  
the Clough family, since the late nineteen-forties: they are used  
here by permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College,  
and cited by the abbreviated titles on p.655 of Poems.
- 20 Poems, pp.469, 805-6, 808: the draft occurs in Journal I (1835-6),  
after April 6 1835, in an undated section.
- 21 E.g. in Journal I (1835-6): "Spent 4 hours on the magazine"  
(Feb. 25 1836); "spent 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -11 $\frac{1}{2}$  12-1 $\frac{1}{4}$  on magazine" (Feb. 26); "11-1  
magazine occupation" (Feb. 29); "spent 2 hours on magazine" (March 1);  
"spent 3 hours on magazine" (March 3), and much more similar.
- 22 Journal I (1835-6) March 22 1836: presumably this was his "Meditations  
after the Fourth Lesson", R.M., I, no. 4 (April 1836), 398.
- 23 Separately published (Rowell: Rugby, 1835): in Poems, pp. 455-61.  
Dr. Arnold described it in a letter to Archdeacon Wrangham as "more  
than an average specimen" of a Rugby prize poem (British Library,  
Add. MS. 45918 f. 3: 11 May 1835). I am indebted to Mr. Alan Bell  
for this reference.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2 (cont.)

- 24 Journal I (1835-6), undated entry, after May 24 1836.
- 25 Poems, pp.471-2, 806: for the original incident, see Poems and Prose Remains (1869), II, 3n.
- 26 Biswas, p.55: the "patch" is unlikely to have been motivated by magazine requirements, as Clough referred to it in 1834, before the Rugby Magazine was founded (Correspondence, I, 8).
- 27 Correspondence, I, 8 (September 1834): Anne Jemima Clough would then be fourteen.
- 28 Mulhauser does not record them as drafted material in his textual collation (Poems, p.806), nor are they separately included as "Fragments".
- 29 RM, I, 405.
- 30 Poems, pp.502-3.
- 31 RM, II, 390. There are several other examples of similarly derogatory comments introducing or following Clough poems (e.g. at RM, I, 308-9; II, 96), but these comments are in linking articles indexed as by Burbidge, even though some comments are attributed to "Clayton", or "Moreton", Clough's pseudonyms.
- 32 Poems, pp.462-7, 305: in RM, I (July 1835), 35-41.
- 33 The story is related as true by [C.H. Newmarch], Recollections of Rugby, by an Old Rugbaean (London, etc., 1848), pp.43-48, and another poem on "The Poacher's Visitor" is given on pp.48-51.
- 34 lines 118-24: Poems, p.465.
- 35 lines 190-3; Poems, p.467.
- 36 For a different interpretation, see Gollin, p.137.
- 37 Poems, pp.480-82.
- 38 lines 6-8, Poems, pp.489-90, 808; RM, II (July 1837), 284-5.
- 39 lines 9-14.
- 40 For the evidence, see P.G. Scott, "An Unlisted Clough Poem", Notes and Queries, CCXVI (November 1971), 415-6: Poems, p.809. The index to the magazine had already been compiled before the final pages were ready for the printer (see RM, II, 388).
- 41 lines 98-111: Poems, p.507.
- 42 lines 140-4 (p.508).

- 44 See, e.g. Williams, Too Quick Despairer, p.35.
- 45 lines 37-8, 41-5; Poems, pp.476-7, 806.
- 46 lines 31-40; Poems, pp.479-80, 807. This text is that of the [?1836] draft, MS I: I discuss the dating of the printed version below.
- 47 Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 359, ff.148-9: for a collation, see Appendix I below.
- 48 letter of J.C. Sharp to B.M.S. Clough, March 31 1862 (Bodleian MSS., C.A.K.L. 1123).
- 49 Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 359, 150-1. It was first identified, and partially printed, in P.G. Scott, "A.H. Clough: a case-study in Victorian doubt", in Derek Baker, ed. Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest: Studies in Church History, 9 (Cambridge, 1972), 383-9. It has now been fully printed in Poems, pp.488-9, 808.
- 50 lines 17-20, 23-4; Poems, p.488.
- 51 lines 25-32; Poems, p.489. Poems reads "These" for "There", and "Off" for "Oft".
- 52 The Bothie, IX, 51-65. A similar repudiation of a striking metaphor occurs at the end of the first stanza of "Why should I say I see the things I see not?": see especially lines 22-8, Poems, p.22.
- 53 Poems, p.808, MS. alternative for lines 35-40.
- 54 See John, XV, 1-2: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husband-man. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away".
- 55 Perhaps because it was written in March 1837, and there was no Spring number that year, only summer and autumn ones.
- 56 Wendell V. Harris, "The Curious Provenience of Clough's 'The Longest Day'", Notes and Queries, cxcii (October 1967), 379-80.
- 57 P.G. Scott, "The Title-page of Clough's 'The Longest Day'", The Library (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society), 5th series, XXVI (December 1971), 342-50. The unique copy is bound in a volume of Rugby material, now in the British Library (C.57. d. 10.4).
- 58 November 1839: Bodleian MSS. (C.A.K.L. 95). Clough also visited Rugby for the last day of the half-year, in December 1839 (Correspondence, I, 97).
- 59 January 16 1840: Correspondence, I, 100. The "Seventh Form" was Clough's phrase for ex-Rugbeians.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2 (cont.)

- 60 The same type was used for verse in The Rugby Miscellany (1845-6) but that periodical specifically excluded old Rugbeians from contributing: Rugby Miscellany, I (March 1845), 2.
- 61 Alternatively, the surviving text was page-proof for the first number, rejected when other old Rugbeians refused support. The Rugbæan contains some lively, perhaps piqued, criticism of the dull ambitiousness of their predecessor: Rugbaean, I (March 1840), 8.
- 62 The relationship of the three early texts, and a full collation of substantive variants, is given in Appendix I below.
- 63 William Knight, Principal Shairp and his Friends (London 1888), pp.31, 53.
- 64 letter, as in n. 48 above.
- 65 R.M. Gollin, as in n.3 above, p.205; K. Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (1962), pp.47-9.
- 66 Biswas, pp.85-6.
- 67 The presence of these alternatives in the printed text supports the argument put forward above, that it was not produced while Clough was at Rugby, able to supervise the printing.
- 68 The ideas, and some of the imagery, of the poem were to be totally recast in 1850, though Clough never prepared the revision for publication: "July's Farewell", in Poems, pp.301-3.
- 69 [Thomas Burbidge], "Etc., etc., etc.," RM, I (January 1836), 300.
- 70 line 11; Poems, p.504.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

- 1 R.K.Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough, Towards a Reconsideration (Oxford 1972), p.108.
- 2 Poems, p.30.
- 3 Poems, p.583. J.B. Clough's business finally failed in June 1841 (Chorley, p.71); he had previously filed bankruptcy papers on August 23 1826 (papers now in the Clough-Butler Archive, East Sussex County Record Office, Chichester: see P.G. Scott, Victorian Studies, XIV, 1971, 466).
- 4 Some support for this interpretation has been brought to light by P.S. McGrane, of Linacre College, who has found a second manuscript of the poem, in a letter from Clough to Thomas Burbidge, from the early summer of 1841 (Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. e. 76, f. 167.). Clough connects the poem there with his concern that he had been "denying my obligations in general to my neighbours" (see P.S. McGrane "Unpublished poetic fragments and manuscripts of Arthur Hugh Clough", Victorian Poetry, forthcoming). He may have been more willing to share his feelings with Burbidge, because of the similar disgrace suffered by Burbidge's father, the Tory town clerk of Leicester, after the municipal reforms of 1835 (see A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester, A History of Leicester, 1780-1850 (Leicester 1954), pp.217-20).
- 5 English essay, "On some of the principal effects on Literature resulting from the Invention of Printing"; Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, f. 5r. Dated November 1837, by E.B. Greenberger, Arthur Hugh Clough (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p.184.
- 6 "A stray valentine", and "Verses written in a diary", in Youth's Literary Messenger, II (June 1838), 52, 65-6, and in Poems, pp.508-10; "He sate, no stiller stands a rock", in Thomas Burbidge, Poems Longer and Shorter (London, 1838), p.303, not in Poems, first identified by Simon Nowell-Smith, "An unascrbed Clough poem", Times Literary Supplement (March 8 1974), p.238, and since confirmed by a contemporary inscription recorded in Sevin Seyd's catalogue, Poetry (London 1976), p.11, item 166.
- 7 Balliol MSS., Journal I (1835-6), September 6 1836: "instead of turning to God last night I wrote a sonnet and poeticized till 10 o'clock ... (evg.) Have been better and happier - but have given way to magazine temptation very often".
- 8 Balliol MSS., Journal III (1838-40), June 1 1838: last phrase quoted by Biswas, p.86.
- 9 Thomas Burbidge, Poems, Longer and Shorter (London, 1838).
- 10 Clough to J.P. Gell, July 7 1838; Correspondence I, 73-4.
- 11 The key document is Isaac Williams, Tract 80: On Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge, published in the summer of 1838; see

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

- David Newsome, The Parting of Friends (1966), pp.74-6.
- 12 Correspondence, I, 69 (April 8 1838).
- 13 Correspondence, I, 85 (November 11 1838). Clough already knew Rogers, a Fellow of Oriel, slightly, and liked him "the best of any of" the Tractarians. He also notes breakfasting with him, and several other social meetings, in early 1839 (Balliol MSS., Journal III, January 1839). Both Gollin (thesis, pp.227-33), and Biswas (pp.100-101) draw attention to the importance of Rogers's article. On Tractarian poetic theory in general, see Alba H. Warren, English Poetic Theory, 1825-1865 (Princeton, 1950), pp.35-65.
- 14 [Frederic Rogers], "Poems by Trench and Milnes", British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, XXIV (October 1838), 277.
- 15 [John Henry Newman], in London Review, I (1829), 170; Richard Hurrell Froude, Remains, 2 vols. (London 1838), I, 156; John Keble, Lectures on Poetry, trans. E.K. Francis (Oxford, 1912), I, 317.
- 16 [John Keble], "Sacred Poetry", Quarterly Review, XXXII (1825), 228, quoted by David Newsome, The Parting of Friends, p.425.
- 17 Keble, Lectures, I, 22.
- 18 [John Keble], "The life and writings of Sir Walter Scott", British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, XXIV (October 1838), 431.
- 19 Keble, Lectures, I, 22. Cf. J.S. Mill, Autobiography (1873 etc.), ch.5.
- 20 "Truth is a golden thread" occurs in Clough's Journal IV (1838-40), under the entry for 14 October 1838 (Poems, p.656).
- 21 Keble, Lectures, I, 22.
- 22 British Critic, XXIV (1838), 435-6.
- 23 ibid., pp.278-9. Lawrence J. Starzyk has recently pointed out the parallels between Rogers's and Clough's attitudes on this matter, in "That Promised Land: poetry and religion in the Victorian period", Victorian Studies, XVI (March 1973), 278-9.
- 24 Keble, Lectures, II, 94-6. A slightly different view of Burns - that he was a good poet in spite of moral inconsistencies - was taken by J.H. Newman, London Review, I (1829), 168.
- 25 Poems, p.137.
- 26 Balliol MSS., Journal III (November 10 1838).
- 27 Poems, pp.157, 659.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

28

Poems, pp.6-8, 567-72; F.L. Mulhauser, Jr., "Clough's 'Love and Reason'", Modern Philology, XLII (1945), 174-86.

29

Biswas, p.236.

30

These figures are based on the contents and notes in Poems, with the addition of the few fragments which Professor Mulhauser omitted and which will be published by P.S. McGrane, "Unpublished poetic fragments and manuscripts of Arthur Hugh Clough", Victorian Poetry (forthcoming). I have not attempted to include the first draft of Adam and Eve in these statistics. I am grateful to Mr. McGrane for letting me see his article in advance of publication.

31

Poems, pp.4-5, 565-7: in Ambarvalia, pp.3-4.

32

Poems, p.565, etc.

33

Poems, p.567: poetic drafts from letters, and portions of letters which relate to them, are included in Poems, not in Correspondence.

34

Clough to Burbidge (19 October 1845), in Poems, p.565.

35

Poems, p.565.

36

Correspondence, I, 149-52.

37

Poems, pp.20-22.

38

Poems, p.566.

39

Poems, p.567.

40

Poems, pp.12-13, 573-4; in Ambarvalia, pp. 15-16.

41

Poems, p.574.

42

The Guardian (March 28 1849), in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, pp.32-3.

43

Houghton, The Poetry of Clough, pp.32-3; Biswas, p.241.

44

Poems, p.565. Titles in this copy are rough annotations, not authoritative revisions.

45

For this version, see Poems, pp.568-71.

46

Mulhauser, as in note 28 above, p.182.

47

Poems, p.580

48

Poems, p.24 R.M. Gollin has suggested that Clough rejected this continuation because it was insincerely moralistic, but it seems to be as much the switch to debate that Clough rejected, as the

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

particular answer of the conclusion: see R.M. Gollin, "Arthur Hugh Clough's formative years, 1819-1841" (unpublished Ph.D thesis University of Minnesota, 1959), p.236.

49 Poems, pp.22-23, 578-80; in Ambarvalia, pp. 31-33; in Poems and Prose Remains (1869), II, 24-25.

50 Barbara Hardy, "Clough's self-consciousness", in Isobel Armstrong, ed., The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations (1969), pp.253-74; p.257; R.K. Biswas, pp.236-8.

51 Outlandish Proverbs, no. 1006, in The Works of George Herbert, ed. F.E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), p.354.

52 [J.H. Newman], Loss and Gain (1848), p.21: see P.G. Scott, "Dancing as a Metaphor in Clough and Newman", Notes and Queries, CCXIII (1968), 417-8. I have not been able to track down the Edgeworth reference. A rather similar attitude towards religious conformity to that of Sheffield in this passage is shown by Clough in his notes on "mechanical ethics", where he compares religious conformity to getting "soldiers into the way of marching to music - boys and girls of dancing", in the hope that the actions become natural and habitual, and produce the beliefs which should have motivated the actions in the first place: the notes are in the 1849 (Roma) Notebook (Balliol MSS.), and have been printed in P.G. Scott, ed., Amours de Voyage (1974), p.81. Clough had earlier used dancing to the music of love as an image in his poem "With graceful seat", written in 1845 (Poems, p.15)

53 [John Keble], British Critic, XXIV (1838), 435.

54 Anon., "St. Athanasius against the Arians", British Critic, XXXII (1842), 403; noted by P.S. McGrane, "Reply to 'Dancing as a Metaphor in Clough and Newman'", Notes and Queries, CCXX (1975), 451.

55 Poems, p.201.

56 Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 119, f.14 r; now printed in Poems, pp.578-9.

57 Most of the variants from this draft are now included in the collation in Poems, pp.579-80. This start was omitted, and is in Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.120, f. 2r.

58 ibid. (again, not in Poems).

59 ibid. (partially recorded in Poems): Clough appears at first to have cancelled the last line, which has no equivalent in the re-drafting of the passage on the opposite page, even though he included it as line 13 of the 1849 text.

60 ibid., f.3r. The last two lines appear to be redrafting of lines 6 and 7 of the passage. In this transcription, brackets indicate cancellation, and underlining late insertion. Cf. Poems, p.579.



NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

- 61 R.K. Biswas, p.238.
- 62 Poems, p.569: the idea of the "vulgar tune" of earthly love is also present, though much less developed, in the other three versions of this poem.
- 63 Mulhauser, as in note 28 above, p.182. In both poems, there may also be echoes of John Keble, The Christian Year (1827). Music, imperfect on earth and perfect in heaven, forms a running metaphor for both belief and poetry, throughout the whole sequence, and the idea of adult deafness to the heavenly music is strongly developed in the poem for the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity, "The deaf and dumb", especially in the last two stanzas.
- 64 Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry (Oxford 1932), p.61.
- 65 Biswas, pp.236-7.
- 66 Correspondence, I, 192 (December 19 1847); I, 195-6 (January 17 1847).
- 67 Poems, p.23: lines 57-9.
- 68 Denis Donoghue, The Ordinary Universe (1968 ), pp.95-96.
- 69 Hardy, as in note 50 above, pp.257-9.
- 70 Correspondence, II, 561-2, 565.
- 71 See, eg. The Bothie, II, 14-17, 53-61, 195-7; III, 96-7, 199-203; IV, 54-79, 97, 205, 212; V, 3, 116-7; VI, 59; VII, 4; Amours de Voyage, cancelled lines after III, 172. Cf. also Clough's comment to J.C. Shairp of June 19 1850: "Let us not sit in a corner and mope and think ourselves clever for our comfort, while the room is full of dancing and cheerfulness" (Correspondence, I, 284).
- 72 Poems, p.384, lines 121-8: the whole episode, from "The Lawyer's First Tale", lines 15-127, relies on the dance image.
- 73 "Dance on, dance on, we see, we see", in Poems, pp. 316-7.
- 74 Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough (London, 1862), p.ix.
- 75 ibid., pp.16-17. The preceding poem is "Duty - that's to say complying"
- 76 Poems, pp.163 and 662, not published in Clough's life-time.
- 77 R.A. Forsyth, "Herbert, Clough and their church-windows", Victorian Poetry, VII (1969), 17-30; C.Castan, "Clough's 'Epi-Strauss-ium' and Carlyle", Victorian Poetry, IV (1966), 54-6: the Carlyle passage is from Past and Present, Book II, chap. xiv, and Clough owned a

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

- copy of that work (listed in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 359, f. 152).
- 78 Paul Veyriras, Arthur Hugh Clough, 1819-1861 (Paris, 1964), p.215 and n.41: referring to Prospective Review, II (1846), 383.
- 79 Oxford Protestant Magazine, I, (May 1847), 92, 204: lest this source be thought suspect, one may note that, in spite of the title, it was a liberal periodical in politics and religion, not a virulently Evangelical one.
- 80 W.E. Houghton has shown how the force of the poem hinges around this shift: The Poetry of Clough, pp.52-3. The main draft of the poem is in the 1847 Notebook, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 120, f. 25r. Lines 3-6 occur on the facing page.
- 81 Poems, p.206.
- 82 Poems, pp. 28-34 and 582-6; in Ambarvalia, pp.41-50.
- 83 [John Conington], in Fraser's Magazine, XXXIX (1849), 581-2, in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.90; W.E. Houghton, pp.31-32 (cf. also pp.56, 77); R.K. Biswas, pp.103, 326, 415.
- 84 Detailed listings of the sources in which each section appears are given in the Poems notes, pp.582-6. Section VI also occurs in the letter, of 1841, cited in note 4 above.
- 85 "In a lecture-room" ("Away, haunt not thou me") is headed "IV" in Journal IV (1838-40), in the entry for February 22 1840: "Sweet streamlet basin" is headed "V" (then cancelled) in the 1839-42 Notebook; "Thought may well be ever ranging" is headed "XII" in the 1839-42 Notebook.
- 86 These, and subsequent composition details, derive from the Poems notes, unless otherwise attributed.
- 87 Poems, p.584, letter to Burbidge of February 14 1841. The shorter draft in the Journal is dated "finished ... Feby 7th".
- 88 letter to J.P. Cell, February 19 1841, Correspondence, I, 107.
- 89 Clough's birthday, a possible occasion for section I, was January 1. Sections II-IV were annotated by Clough as all written in London at Easter 1841, in the copy of his poems given to C.E. Norton (Poems, p.583). Section IV is dated April 18-19, and marked as a "Continuation of I" in the 1839-42 Notebook. The separate sonnet, "To the Great Metropolis" (Poems, p.157) was also written on the same visit to London.
- 90 Poems, p.156.
- 91 Correspondence, I, 104-5 (February 8 1841): this promise is a possible interpretation of the "lie" Clough confesses in section IV.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

- 92 Poems, p. 157 and 659. The couplet ("Do duty feeling nought") dates from May 5 (Poems, p.157). The written examinations were from Saturday May 8 1841 to Thursday May 13, and Clough's viwa voce was on Wednesday May 19: see Correspondence, I, 108.
- 93 See Hebrews, ix, 6; for the "debt" image, cf. Romans, viii, 12, "we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh".
- 94 See, e.g., the letters to his sister Anne and to J.N. Simpkinson, Correspondence, I, 109-11. Biswas (pp.90-91) interprets the examination itself as "cathartic".
- 95 lines 13-14, Poems, p.42 : July 28 1841.
- 96 Poems, p.159, from "Would that I were" (August 3 1841), lines 2 and 5, and from "Palsying self-mistrust" (October 1 1841), lines 1, 7, 10. Also from this autumn is "Thought may well be ever ranging" (Poems, pp. 26-7).
- 97 An interesting light on Clough's change of poetic mode for this section, is given by some lines from his journal a few days later, in which he claimed to prefer poetry in the "somewhat slovenly undress / Of slippered slip-slop sentimentals", to "Philosophic regimentals" (Poems, p.159: December 10 1841).
- 98 Poems, p.584: the original reading, "feel", would have lacked the ambiguity. A different judgement on this poem is made by R.K. Biswas, who considers the phrasing "flabby and automatic" (Biswas, pp. 102-3).
- 99 Poems, p.584.
- 100 Poems, p.30: late July 1842 (see Poems, p.583).
- 101 Poems of Matthew Arnold, ed. Kenneth Allott (1965), pp.271-75: Allott dates the poem as "clearly" 1849-52. Arnold read the notebook containing Clough's poem in 1847: Letters of Matthew Arnold to ... Clough, ed. Lowry (Oxford, 1932), p.61.
- 102 The three omitted poems were "Thought may well be ever ranging" (Poems, pp.26-7); "To the great Metropolis" (Poems, p.157); and "If when in cheerless wanderings" (Poems, p.42). The first and third of these were included elsewhere in Ambarvalia, while the second was inappropriate in subject.
- 103 For convenience, I have used the Ambarvalia section numbers (also in Poems), as a shorthand for describing the earlier sequence-pattern.
- 104 Poems, p.24; headed "IV" in the Balliol Journal IV.
- 105 Ibid.: at first numbered "V" in 1839-42 Notebook.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

106

Poems, pp.26-7: numbered "XII" in 1839-42 Notebook.

107

A much stricter account of the poem's form is given by Richard D. McGhee, "Blank Misgivings": Arthur Hugh Clough's Search for Poetic Form", Victorian Poetry, VII (1969), 105-15: McGhee interprets the sequence as the gradual imposition of objective form upon subjective experience, rather than, as I do, as a dialectic between the torture of idealism, and the blankness of actuality.

108

The composition history of In Memoriam is summarised in Poems of Tennyson, ed. Christopher Ricks (1969), pp.855-9; a hostile account of Tennyson's editing as insincere is given by E.B. Mattes, In Memoriam: the Way of a Soul (New York, 1951), but is not generally accepted.

109

Wordsworth, Immortality Ode, lines 146-7. Wendell V. Harris has suggested that Clough's sequence was intended to follow Wordsworth's in working through a series of doubts and questionings to a limited affirmation: Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (1970), p.63.

110

Clough to C.E. Norton, Correspondence, II, 562-3, 565, listing numbers 2, 8, and 7: Poems (London 1862), pp.7-14, including numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and, separately, 10.

111

Poems and Prose Remains (1869), II, 13-19, 20.

112

Veyriras, Arthur Hugh Clough 1819-1861 (Paris, 1964), pp.152-71, especially p.170.

113

Clough's own distinction: C.E.Prichard replying to a letter of Clough's wrote that, "It does not seem to me that readers will generally make the distinction between 'didactic' and 'phenomenal'" (Correspondence, I, 239: February 9 1849).

114

See P.G. Scott, "The Publication of Clough's Ambarvalia Poems", Book Collector, XIX (1970), 194-202.

115

Poems, pp.3, 564.

116

Poems, p.4.

117

Poems, pp. 163-64. The importance of this poem was first shown by James Bertram, "Clough and his poetry", Landfall, XVII (1963), 146-7: cf. also Biswas, pp.187-9, and R.M. Gollin, in Arthur Hugh Clough, a Descriptive Catalogue (New York, 1967), p.17. The proofs are now Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. e. 88.

118

"Is it true, ye gods", Poems, pp.42-3.

119

[John Conington], Fraser's Magazine, XXXIX (1849), 581, repr. in Thorpe Critical Heritage, p.88.

120

The Spectator (January 20 1849), p.65, in Thorpe, p.75, The Guardian



NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3 (cont.)

(March 28 1849), in Thorpe, p.79.

121

Wendell V. Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (New York, 1970), p.53.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

- 1 Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. by his wife (London 1869), I, 43-69.
- 2 Poems (1951) had used Mrs. Clough's title (p.40 ff.), for which the editors were sharply criticised by R.M. Gollin, in Modern Philology IX (1962), 122-3, who claimed that there is "repeated evidence that Clough, Mrs. Clough, and Matthew Arnold always called the poem 'Adam and Eve'," and interpreted that title as "pointing to the two attitudes to sin and redemption Clough dialectically opposed in the poem's structure". Gollin followed this up with similar criticism of Lady Chorley, in Essays in Criticism, XII (1962), 429, and since that date all scholarly commentary has accepted his use of the notebook title (see, e.g., Houghton, p.81, or Biswas, p.250).
- 3 [Henry Sidgwick], in Westminster Review, XCII (1869), 363-87, in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.280.
- 4 [R.H. Hutton], in Spectator, XLII (September 11 1869), 1074.
- 5 Michael Timko, Innocent Victorian (1966), p.10; Robindra K. Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough (1972), p.251.
- 6 K. Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (1962), p.182; W.E. Houghton, The Poetry of Clough (1963), p.80.
- 7 Poems (1951), pp.410-34; Poems (1974), pp.165-87.
- 8 Kenneth Allott, "Rescue Operation", in Essays in Criticism, XIV (1964), 415.
- 9 Poems and Prose Remains (1869), II, 43.
- 10 From the fuller version of the memorandum, in Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c. 359, ff. 120-123: a second version is laid in Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 125 (Adam and Eve notebook, II), between ff. 13 and 18, and is printed in Poems, p.663.
- 11 G.P. Johari, "Arthur Hugh Clough at Oriel and at University Hall", PMLA, LXVI (1951), 417.
- 12 W.E. Houghton, The Poetry of Clough (1963), p.80: the argument was challenged by Allott (as in n. 8 above), pp. 415-6.
- 13 Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough (1972), p.250. Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (1969), pp.99 ff. Chorley (pp.201-03) specifically connects the writing of the poem with Clough's Italian months in 1849, the same month in which he wrote Amours de Voyage and "Sa Majesté très chrétienne."
- 14 (i) MS.1, 1849 (Roma) Notebook, Balliol MS. 441 (a): this contains drafts of Adam and Eve on f. 17r, and, interrupted by some notes, on ff. 35-48 (revised). Laid in the same notebook is the loose sheet of blue paper (MS.5) bearing the drafts of Adam and Eve, scene IX,

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4 (cont.)

- and of L'Envoi to Amours de Voyage. (ii) MS.2, 1850 (Venice) Notebook, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.133: this contains drafts of Adam and Eve on ff. 4-12r, and, in addition to substantial drafting for Dipsychus, also contains (on ff. 69v-76r) the letters which form MS.C of Amours de Voyage, and which probably date from the summer of 1849 (see ch. 6 below).
- 15 Memorandum, as in n. 10 above.
- 16 Other treatment of the Cain and Abel story were: Solomon Gessner, The Death of Abel (1761); W.H. Hall, The Death of Cain (1809); James Montgomery, The World before the flood (1813) - Book VII; William Blake, The Ghost of Abel (1822); S.T. Coleridge, The Wanderings of Cain, in his Poems (1826); J.E. Reade, Cain the Wanderer, a vision of heaven (1829); C.J. Yorke, Cain and Abel: a poem (1836); William Harper, Cain and Abel (1844); Adam Chadwick, Cain and Abel (1845); and "A Cambridge Wrangler", "Cain", in Poems of Early Years (1851). This list is certainly incomplete. When W.E. Aytoun wished to satirize the Victorian "Spasmodists", he made his hero Firmilian a poet who was attempting "to paint the mental spasms that tortured Cain" (Firmilian, 1854, scene I, line 96: in Poems of W.E. Aytoun, ed. F. Page, 1921, p.299).
- 17 Biswas, pp.140-42.
- 18 For Arnold's principles of Biblical exegesis, see the letter by Bonamy Price, in A.P. Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D. (5th edition, London 1845), I, 217-23, and cf. Arnold's statement to Bunsen that his interest in history was "centred" in moral and spiritual truths" (ibid., I, 409, quoted by Biswas, p.132).
- 19 Clough's contributions to the Dictionary are listed in R.M. Gollin, W.E. Houghton and Michael Timko, eds., Arthur Hugh Clough, a descriptive catalogue (1967), II, item 18, p.47: the contribution for vol. II, p.911, should read "Cynisca", not "Cynane", as in the Descriptive Catalogue.
- 20 Article IX of the Articles of Religion, Book of Common Prayer. Cf. "Thou bidd'st me mark" (Poems, p.137).
- 21 Clough to J.P. Gell (July 13 1844), Correspondence, I, 130.
- 22 E.g. Chorley, p.125, who footnotes them to unspecified Balliol MSS.
- 23 1849 (Roma) Notebook, f. 5v. Lady Chorley prints this passage, with other notes from elsewhere in the manuscript, on p.107, as dating from 1849: it is printed correctly by Biswas (p.475), as dating from 1845.
- 24 Correspondence, I, 155, where he also recorded that he felt "no common attraction" to the Unitarian "party" who produced it. Correspondence misreads "3" for "8" in this letter. The list of Clough's books is Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c.359, f.155.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4 (cont.)

- 25 Prospective Review, I, no.3 (1845), 335-55, esp. p.342 and pp.348-50.
- 26 For convenience, I give references to the version of Adam and Eve in Poems, pp.165-87, citing it in the text by scene and line-numbers. "Mythus" had been used in English for some years, but always in a specialized context relating to German scholarship: see, e.g., the examples quoted from Coleridge and Carlyle in the New English Dictionary.
- 27 Prospective Review, I, no.3 (1845), 445-64, esp. pp. 448-56: the same number also contained articles on Dr. Arnold's Miscellaneous Works, and Blanco White, the Unitarian ex-fellow of Oriel, which makes it more likely still that Clough would have read it.
- 28 Preface, 1844, quoted in Prospective Review, I, (1845), 449, but not included in later editions of the Poems.
- 29 See, e.g., the long scenes between Adam and Eve, in "A Drama of Exile", in Poems by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, new ed. (1850), pp.17-23, 37-42; and Eve's speech of contrition (pp.48-51): later in the poem, she and Adam are confronted by Christ (pp.71-80). A recent analysis of the poem's theology is by H.N. Fairchild, in his Religious Trends in English Poetry, IV: 1830-1880 (New York, 1957), pp.53-55.
- 30 Prospective Review, I, (1845), 450-51: there seems to be a close echo of the last sentence quoted, in Clough's "Notes on the religious tradition", of circa 1850: writing of Scriptural history, Clough remarks, "it may be true that as the physical bread has to be digested and the nutritive portion separated from the innutritive, so may it also be with the spiritual. It may be true that man has fallen, though Adam and Eve are legendary" (Prose, p.291).
- 31 Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry (1932), p.86 (July 20 1848); and p.87 (late July / early August 1848).
- 32 J.A. Froude to Clough (September 8 1848), printed in F.L. Mulhauser, "An unpublished poem of James Anthony Froude", English Language Notes, XII (1974), 26-30; p.27 and n.
- 33 ibid., p.28.
- 34 Chorley, p.182.
- 35 Houghton, p.80 and n. 3.
- 36 Poems (1951), p.577.
- 37 The only previous attempt to specify a date for the MS.1 drafts of Adam and Eve is Lady Chorley's dating of "1849" (Chorley p.182): but this rests on the assumption that the poetic drafts must be of the same date as the notes on ethics with which they are interspersed. It seems to me less likely that Clough would alternate sections of poetry and prose memoranda at a single stage of composition, than

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4 (cont.)

that he would have filled in the gaps in the earlier poetic drafts, with prose notes made at a later date. On this assumption, the poetic drafts should ante-date the prose-notes (dated "L'pool. March 1849"). Certainly the notes themselves cannot be taken as evidence for the date of the poetic drafts.

38

1849 (Roma) Notebook, ff. 38r, 36v.

39

Poems, p.667. Lady Chorley (p.182) wrongly asserts that this poem, and annotation, occur in the same MS. notebook as Adam and Eve.

40

MS.5, a sheet of loose paper in the 1849 (Roma) Notebook, Balliol MS. 441 (a).

41

The only poem preceding Adam and Eve in MS.1 is a draft of "Peschiera", which dates from August 1850 (Poems, p.723); this could, of course, have been drafted on pages earlier left blank.

42

Memorandum, as in n. 10 above, where the MS. is described as "full of gaps and breaks".

43

In this reconstruction, "My father" (which is separated by a dash from "Abel is dead", on f. 4v) is taken to be a note of the fact that lines 7-9 precede the new material: scansion reinforces the interpretation, though it is admittedly conjectural.

44

Here the order is less clear, though the problem is apparent enough: following from line 22, the order might be lines 25-27, 23-24, 28-29, 30ff. Alternatively, lines 23-24 might have been intended for the lacuna left between lines 18 and 19 on f.5r.

45

The passage echoes I Peter, v. 6.: "be clothed with humility ... humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time".

46

(i) MS.3, Adam and Eve Notebook I, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.124;  
(ii) MS.4, Adam and Eve Notebook II, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.125, containing fair copies (rectos only, ff. 1-13) of scene I and scene II (lines 1-78): on loose sheets laid in the book and numbered ff. 14-17 is the second version of the prose memorandum by Mrs. Clough discussed above.

47

"Chorus" and "To his work the man must go", in Poems, pp.215-7.

48

MS.3 also contains the remnants of the once-substantial hexameter poem about the Highland ferry-girl, "If when the Mither was young" (Poems, pp.447-8), which can only be dated as "subsequent to August 3 1847", though probably pre-dating The Bothie (1848): see ch. 5 below. The hexameters, however, work from the opposite end of the notebook, and need not determine the date of the Adam and Eve scenes.

49

Lines 62ff. are headed "Prologue continued", on f.36r, of MS.3: cf. also the plan or List discussed below.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4 (cont.)

50

Biswas, p.263. He dates scene XIV as possibly from 1850, on internal grounds. The line "Life has been beautiful" (XIV, 47), with variants, also occurs in Amours de Voyage, III, 177, and in Dipsychus, V, 66 and 75 (Poems, p.239).

51

MS.3 notebook, f. 33v; cf. Poems and Prose Remains (1869), II, 69, and Poems, pp.666-7, where the lines are attributed to Cain. If they are Eve's, the full irony of the poem remains - that she cannot accept even Adam's death.

52

Poems, pp.215-6.

53

Two other lyrics may also have been connected with this stage of composition: (i) the poem on the difference between man's and woman's work, which occurs in the MS.3 notebook, in Poems, pp.216-7; and (ii) "Youth, that went, is come again", in Poems, pp.214-5, which was sent in a letter to J.C. Shairp of January 2 1850: the refrain of "Eva" echoes Adam's use of this name for Eve, in the additional lines on a loose sheet in MS.3, printed by Poems, p.655. (On this second lyric, see Evelyn Barish [Greenberger], "A new Clough manuscript", Review of English Studies, n.s. XV (1964), 168-74.) There were lyric choruses interspersed with blank verse speeches in Mrs. Browning's Drama of Exile.

54

MS.3 notebook, f. 43r.

55

The opening lines of scene XIII also include the phrase "Abel is dead", and if the note refers to this, then scene X would have been omitted.

56

Houghton, pp.88-9.

57

Houghton, p.88.

58

Samuel Waddington, Arthur Hugh Clough, A Monograph (1883), p.310.

59

[Henry Sidgwick], in Westminster Review, XCII (October 1869), 375, repr. in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.280.

60

ibid., p.376.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

- 1 Coventry Patmore, in St. James Gazette (10 August 1888) p.7 (in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.336); J.A. Symonds, in The Fortnightly Review, XXIV (1 December 1868), 605 (in Thorpe, p.235).
- 2 Correspondence, I, 240
- 3 R.B. Rutland, "The Genesis of Clough's Bothie", Victorian Poetry, XI (1973), 277-84.
- 4 Poems, pp.447-8; Rutland, pp.279-80; or Appendix 2 in P.G. Scott, ed., The Bothie (1976). These calculations are made from the stubs left where ff.41, 42, and 44-7 of the MS. notebook have been torn out: the three surviving fragments are on ff. 40 and 43 of Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d. 124.
- 5 Rutland, p.281, dates these lines provisionally as 1845-47, but they are unlikely to pre-date an incident on the Drumnadrochet reading-party. On August 3 1847, Clough, Walrond, Shairp and some others met such a ferry-girl near Foyers on Loch Ness, and Shairp was subsequently chaffed for his gallantry towards her. See Clough's journal (Balliol MSS.), and Edward Scott's account in W. Knight, Principal Shairp and his friends (1888), p.111.
- 6 Poems, pp.38, 587-91.
- 7 The original first and last stanzas suggest an allusion to the unstable romantic hero of Tennyson's Locksley Hall: e.g. "You left me, O my comrades, while my brain was reeling yet". (Poems, p.587).
- 8 Rutland, p.277.
- 9 "Illustrations of Latin Lyrical Metres", Classical Museum, IV (1847), 347-63, reprinted in Prose, pp.66-84, and (examples only) in Poems, pp.162-3, 537-45; E.S. Leedham-Green, "Four Unpublished Translations by Arthur Hugh Clough", Review of English Studies, n.s. XXIII (1972), 179-87.
- 10 The main parallels are quoted in my edition of The Bothie, in explanatory notes to II, 30, 250-5, 261, 264, 265-8, and V, 76-86.
- 11 James Bertram, ed., New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold (1966), Appendix C, pp.222-3.
- 12 It is marked as "Toper-na-fuosick" on Arrowsmith's map of Scotland (1789) and as "Toper-na-fuosich" on Ainslie's map (1807: still commonly used in the 1840s) but was nameless ruins by the Ordnance Survey of the 1860s. For Clough's stay, see Corr., I, 185, and cf. PFR, I, 28-9. J.C. Shairp also wrote a poem about this bothie, "The Shepherd's House, Loch Ericht", in his Glen Desseray and other poems, ed. F.T. Palgrave (1888), pp.159-161.
- 13 Poems, pp.39-41, 163-4: cf. also the love-sick Highland lassie Janet, in the ballad of Ladies Well (Poems, pp.443-6), a poem which may suggest an intentional symbolism in The Bothie's original Gaelic title.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER V (cont.)

- 14 Biswas, pp.183-5, and cf. p.189.
- 15 Corr., I, 240.
- 16 Bertram, p.114.
- 17 Ibid. Fisher was later alleged to be the model for Arthur in The Bothie: see Gilbert Rigaud, in Notes and Queries, 5th series, VIII (November 17 1877), 395; A.H.A. Hamilton, in Academy, XXIII (January 6 1883), 11; and Rev. William Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford (1900), p.263. Clough later wrote to Fisher, about The Bothie, that "the fun it could hardly help being to some of you was present in my mind throughout". (Corr. I, 230).
- 18 Bertram, p.115.
- 19 September 15 1848 (Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. c. 190); "if you have a reading party next summer ... you must count on me as a non missura cutem hirudo".
- 20 [Francis Jeffrey], in Edinburgh Review, XXXV (1821), 422-36; J.S. Blackie, in Classical Museum, IV (1846), 319-30, esp. p.322. Cf. also C.C. Felton, in North American Review, LV (1842), 121-42.
- 21 Lawrence Shadwell, The Iliad of Homer, Faithfully Rendered (1844); Westminster Review, XLIII (1845), 331-73; [J.G. Lockhart], Blackwood's Magazine, LIX (1846), 259-72, 610-20; [Sir John Herschel and others], English Hexameter Translations (1847). Clough certainly knew the last two of these: see Poems and Prose Remains, I, 396, 401, or Rose, pp.181, 186. The debate about 'facsimile' translation may be followed in R.H. Horne, Classical Museum, I (1844), 398-403; J.S. Blackie, Classical Museum, II (1844), 287; John Oxenford, Classical Museum, III (1845), 279-83; and Blackie's reply, as in note 20 above.
- 22 See "Illustrations of Latin Lyrical Metres", as in note 9 above; and "Second Letter of Paripedemus", Putnam's Monthly Magazine, I (1853), 387-402, reprinted in Rose, pp.180-6. Clough was applying to translation the theory of classical metre put forward by J.S. Blackie, "On the Rhythical Declamation of the Ancients", Classical Museum, I (1843), 338-68; and F.W. Newman, "On the Pronunciation of Greek", Classical Museum, III (1846), 382-404.
- 23 J.M. Ludlow to Charles Kingsley (January 12 1849), in R.B. Martin, "An edition of the correspondence ... of Charles Kingsley", (Oxford thesis, 1950), p.133, n.3: this letter is now Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 7348/16/7, which also contains a hexameter review of The Bothie by Ludlow. Cf. Corr., I, 240-1, and C.A. Bristed, in Literary World, IV (New York, 1849), 493-4, reprinted in his Pieces of a Broken Down Critic (Baden-Baden, 1858), I, 216.
- 24 In the corrected copy of 1848 (A), at Balliol College.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER V (cont.)

- 25 Diary, "Long Vacation &c. 1846-7-8" (Balliol MSS.).
- 26 ibid.
- 27 Corr., I, 219-22. Cf. Paul Veyriras, Arthur Hugh Clough (1964), p.254. Rutland (p.278-9) compresses the composition of two full manuscript drafts of the poem into less than three weeks, but see note 37 below.
- 28 Balliol MS. 441, partially collated by Poems as MS., and more fully in my edition as M.
- 29 The MS. draft for Hobbes's speech is longer than the final version, some of the extra material being subsequently used in Hobbes's "Cathedral" letter, added at proof-stage in the 'new' Book V, lines 92-96.
- 30 See Appendix 1, in Scott, The Bothie.
- 31 See diary entry for Sept. 2 1847, and cf. J.C. Shairp's account, in Poems and Prose Remains, I, 30. The guardsman was apparently Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence (diary and Corr., I, 185). Clough had attended a similar dinner and dance the previous year, following the Braemar games (diary entry for August 27 1846).
- 32 Diary, undated entry in early September 1846.
- 33 e.g. (3rd ed., 1851), pp.413, 470, both with reference to areas visited by Clough.
- 34 [Charles Kingsley], in Fraser's Magazine, XXXIX (1849), 109, repr. in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.45. I have argued this analysis more fully in my introduction to The Bothie (forthcoming 1976).
- 35 Balliol MS. 441.
- 36 Only after the first proof-stage were Chapman and Hall added to the title-page of The Bothie, beneath Francis Macpherson: Macpherson took the financial risk. The advertisement for Ambarvalia (p. [56] of published text) does not appear on the proofs.
- 37 All gatherings bear the printer's code "1 Oct. 30 1848" (that is, "first proof" and the date): the return post-marks are dated November 1 1848. Rutland's chronology (pp.278-9) assumes a date of October 1 for these proofs, and telescopes the composition time accordingly.
- 38 Corr., I, 224. For a discussion of this incident, see K. Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (1961), pp.168-9, or G. Tillotson, in G. and K. Tillotson, Mid-Victorian Studies (1965), p.119.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V (cont'd.)

39. [R.W. Church] , in Christian Remembrancer, XLV (1863), 69;  
repr. in Littel's Living Age, LXXVI (1863), 395.
40. Unsigned review, in Church and State Review, I (October 1862)  
241 (repr. in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.159).
41. [W.Y. Sellar] , in North British Review, XXXVII (1862), 323  
(repr. in Thorpe, p.176).
42. Correspondence, II, 563-4; these letters are misdated April 1  
1859, in Poems and Prose Remains, I, 235.
43. With Adam's letter cf. the concluding paragraph of Carlyle's  
"Characteristics" (Miscellaneous Essays, London 1858, III, 33).  
The night-battle image derives from Thucydides, History of the  
Peloponnesian War, Bk. VII, ch. 44, and had been applied to  
theological controversy by Newman, in University Sermons (1843),  
p.193. J.C. Shairp had used this application of the image in a  
letter to Clough in August 1848 (Corr., I, 218). The contrast  
with Arnold's "Dover Beach" (? 1851-2) has often been made: see,  
e.g., Paul Turner, in English Studies, XXVIII (1947), 173-8.  
The fullest discussion of the image is by R.M. Gollin, in English  
Studies, XLVIII (1967), 496-504.
44. [John Conington] , in Fraser's Magazine, XXXIX (May 1849), 581  
(in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.89).
45. E.B. Browning to Miss Mitford (December 1 1849), in Thorpe, p.53.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6

- 1 There were at least three Victorian editions in which The Bothie was the only long Clough poem included: (i) The Bothie and other poems, ed. Ernest Rhys (1884, etc.); (ii) The Love Story of a Young Man, or 'The Bothie of Tobe-na-Vuolich' (Penny Poets Series, no. 29, [1892]); (iii) Selections from the Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough (Golden Treasury Series, 1894, etc.). On the other hand, the first separate edition of Amours de Voyage was only published in 1974.
- 2 Amours de Voyage was first published in Atlantic Monthly, I (Boston, Mass., 1859) as follows: Canto I, February, pp.419-26; Canto II, March, pp.536-43; Canto III, April, pp.667-73; Canto IV and V, May, pp.784-90.
- 3 J.A. Symonds, in Fortnightly Review, X (1868), p.601, reprinted in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.231.
- 4 See, e.g., Stafford Northcote's letter to Gladstone during the election of 1847, in John Morley, Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 3 vols. (1903) I, 329. Biswas, ch. 4, pp.146-96, illuminates the problems of being a recognized radical. E.B. Greenberger, Arthur Hugh Clough (1970), ch. 2, has shown how 'radical' Clough was, by contrast with the rather tamer picture given by Michael Timko, Innocent Victorian (1966), pp.60-91.
- 5 James Bertram, ed., New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1966), p.221; cf. Matthew Arnold's direction of a letter to "Citoyen Clough, Oriel Lyceum", reported in Correspondence, I, 216.
- 6 Correspondence, I, 244.
- 7 Bertram, pp.222-3.
- 8 Bertram, p.124.
- 9 V.S. Pritchett, New Statesman, n.s. 41 (January 6 1951), 15; reprinted in his Books in General (1953), p.1.
- 10 Clough's "1849 (Roma) Notebook" contains, in addition to various poetic drafts (including MS.D of Amours), a three-page record of the Italian months: selected entries are printed in P.G. Scott, ed., Amours de Voyage (Brisbane 1974), pp.77-8.
- 11 Correspondence, I, 252 (18 April 1849): for a guidebook recommendation of Clough's first day's sight-seeing in Rome, see [Octavian Blewitt], A Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy (John Murray, 1843), p.381.
- 12 Correspondence, I, 244.
- 13 Letter of A.H.C. to F.T. Palgrave (23 April 1849: Bodleian MSS., C.A.K.L. 364). Cf. Correspondence, I, 252.



NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6 (cont.)

- 14 Details of the siege are given in Luigi Carlo Farini, The Roman State from 1815 to 1850, volume IV (London 1854); and G.M. Trevelyan, Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic (new ed., London 1908).
- 15 See Correspondence, I, 254 and 265. Trevelyan, p.149, underplays the violence, but see Farini, pp.55-6, for an account closer to Clough's own. Cf. also Amours de Voyage, II, vii.
- 16 For Clough's various attitudes to the Republic, cf. Correspondence, I, 243-4; 252; 253; 255; Lowry, Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough (1932), p.108; Bertram, New Zealand Letters, p.146.
- 17 Henry James, William Wetmore Story and his friends (Edinburgh, 1903), pp.98, 130.
- 18 "1849 (Roma) Notebook", in Scott, ed. cit., p.78. There are references to Margaret Fuller in this journal on May 18, 20, 22; June 2, 7, 9 (twice), 18, 19, [? 21], 23, 30; July 10, 12.
- 19 Correspondence, I, 262: see also Correspondence, I, 280-2.
- 20 For a full discussion of this theory, see chapter 3 above: and cf. Claude's comments in Amours, V, v, 70-75.
- 21 MS.D, "1849 (Roma) Notebook", Balliol MS. 441 (a). For the prose notes, see Scott, ed. cit., appendix 3, pp.81-2. In the discussion which follows, I use the MS. sigla in Poems, p.617: the numbering of cancelled letters is that assigned in the textual notes of my own edition.
- 22 MS.B, Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d.132: the separated sheet, with a draft of II, v, is with a letter to A.P. Stanley of 23 May 1849, in Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d. 176.
- 23 [R.W. Church], in Christian Remembrancer, XLV (1863), 83 : reprinted in Littell's Living Age, LXXVI (1863), 404.
- 24 <sup>insert at foot of page</sup> MS.C, "1850 (Venice) Notebook", Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d. 133. The title for this notebook, assigned by Mrs. Clough, is no real indication of dating: the Amours de Voyage drafts work from the other end of the book from the 1850 material, and need not be later than the siege itself.
- 25 MS.A, Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d. 130 and 131. The first of the notebooks is made in England, and watermarked 1848. The second may have been Italian. Much of the material in A was reworked several times, and revisions are virtually impossible to date with confidence. In general, the textual notes in my edition print the first, unrevised, draft from A, while those in Professor Mulhauser's revised Poems (1974) print the revised forms of A variants.

23a the name Trevellyn occurs once on the verso of sheet 3 of MS.B.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6 (cont.)

26

The conflict of voice within the elegiac sections has been well analysed by Wendell V. Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (New York, 1970), pp.76-79: the predominant voice, however, is the editorial "we", and the distancing effect of the elegiacs is emphasised by their poeticalness.

27

G.M. Trevelyan, Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic (new ed., London, 1908), pp.206-13.

28

There is a problem with the placing of this letter, as it occurs in A as letter III, iv B, though in the extant manuscript Claude's use of the juxtaposition metaphor does not occur until III, vi and vii; these cannot themselves be misplaced because in III, vii, 151-6, Claude is replying to the Eustace reference to affinities. The explanation would seem to be that Claude had originally talked of juxtaposition in one of the leaves, later excised, at the opening of Canto III; that Eustace was replying to that reference; and that III, vi and vii, were Claude's elaboration of the idea he had earlier adumbrated. See also the reference to juxtaposition in the cancelled lines in A, II, xiv, after line 313. "Juxtaposition" and "affinity" are Victorian chemical terms, roughly equivalent to merely physical cohesion (based on magnetic attraction), and chemical combination (the result of inherent chemical structure). The metaphor was earlier applied to human relationships by Goethe, in his Die Wahlverwandschaften (1809), and presumably he and Carlyle are the "sages" to whom Eustace refers. The metaphor occurs in Clough's The Bothie, IV, 42-45: and in Matthew Arnold, "A Farewell" (October 1849), line 56.

29

Cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, Book I, section 3, and Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, Book 2, ch. 9, where he argues that "Doubt of any sort cannot be removed except by action", quoting from Goethe, Wilhelm Meister, I, 386 (see C.F. Harrold, ed., Sartor Resartus, New York 1937, p.196).

30

Parts of the letter (including the first two lines quoted) were subsequently used as a postscript to letter II, viii (lines 231-34), but it is the unused lines which give new light on Georgina, and on Claude. J.C. Maxwell, in Modern Language Review, LXX (1975), 862, notes errors in the Poems transcription of this passage.

31

Canto II, xva, after 388: roughly drafted in C, but not included in A.

32

At III, iii A, after 78 (though four of the five leaves excised from here survive separately): and at V, x B, after 205 etc. (two leaves, both missing). There is a sheet of hexameters among the Bothie manuscript at Balliol, which may be from this gap in the Fifth Canto of Amours (22 lines in all).

33

Correspondence, I, 274 (October 31 1849), where Clough asks them "not to show it to others".

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6 (cont.)

34

These comments were included in the textual notes of my edition. Some of the deletions may also be Shairp's or Walrond's: Correspondence I, 276.

35

Correspondence, I, 275 (undated, but? November 1849): Shairp returned the MS. with this letter.

36

Correspondence, I, 276 (undated, but? November 1849).

37

Correspondence, I, 278 (undated, but? November 1849).

38

MS.E, "Roman Elegiacs and Roman Hexameters April to July 1849", Harvard bMS. Eng. 1036 (2), among C.E. Norton's papers.

39

There are specific allusions to Goethe's poem at II, 276, and at III, 15-16, as well as the more general parallels of situation and metre.

40

The suggestion that E was the manuscript for Norton's edition was put forward in Poems (1951), p.617; see also Correspondence, II, 482. It is confirmed by a letter at Harvard, bMS. Am. 1088. 1293.

41

[W.E. Aytoun], in Blackwood's Magazine, LXXV (May 1854), 533-51. For the Spasmodics more generally, see J.H. Buckley, The Victorian Temper (1952), pp.41-65. For Tennyson, see E.F. Shannon, "The critical reception of Maud", P.M.L.A., LXVIII (1953), 397-417. Clough mocked Aytoun for himself being a spasmodic, in his Goethe translations, in Fraser's Magazine, LIX (1859), 710-717 (in Prose, p.199).

42

H.F. Lowry, ed., Letters of Matthew Arnold to A.H. Clough (Oxford 1932), p.147 (2 August 1855). Another symptom of the reaction is the treatment Kingsley gave his spasmodic poet, "Elsley Vavasour", in Two Years Ago (1857), especially chs. III and X.

43

MS.F, Harvard MS. Lowell 1292. 4. The placing of this undated manuscript in the textual sequence comes from its closeness in some specific readings to A and E, while its general shape is closer to E, the Atlantic Monthly manuscript.

44

Professor Mulhauser has conjectured that MS.F was sent to Norton for Lowell, lost in transit, and then later recovered: Poems, p.617.

45

Correspondence, II, 527-8.

46

12 June 1857, Correspondence, II, 528.

47

Correspondence, II, 529-33.

48

Harvard bMS. 1088 (1312), A.H. Clough to Norton, undated, but? September 1857.

49

Correspondence, II, 535 (23 November 1857).

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6 (cont.)

- 50 Correspondence, II, 536-7 (21 December 1857).
- 51 Correspondence, II, 538 (5 January 1858).
- 52 Correspondence, II, 539, Clough to C.E. Norton (15 January 1858).
- 53 Correspondence, II, 540 (22 January 1858).
- 54 Correspondence, II, 543 (? 10-15 February 1858).
- 55 MS.H, Harvard MS. Lowell 1292.4. The first page has at some point been detached from the rest, and is mounted in an extra-illustrated set of E.C. Stedman's Victorian Poets, also at Harvard.
- 56 MS. G, Harvard MS. Lowell 1292.4., a clean draft of III, v, viii-xiii, and Epilogue. The three "new" letters are III, v, x, xii; letter viii was revised from MS. A, letter III, ivA; letter ix from MS. A.; letter xi from MS. E; and letter xiii inserts fifteen new lines into draft-lines from the MS. D notebook. The Epilogue contains no significant revisions.
- 57 These lines were, of course, subsequently reused as the conclusion to the new Prologue of Canto V.
- 58 Correspondence, II, 537: Clough acquiesced in the decision, in Correspondence, II, 538.
- 59 ibid.
- 60 Letter V, v, section (vi) was an insertion, not from MS. A., but from a rough drafting in Clough's 1849-50 (Lamech) Notebook (Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d.127. fol. 1v), possibly originally connected with the composition of Dipsychus: this draft is collated (4 variants) in Poems, p.647, which does not, however, note that line 110 is not in the draft. The variants of line 112 in Clough's "corrections" letter (see note 61 below) suggest that he there copied direct from the Lamech Notebook. The draft was unfortunately omitted from my own edition.
- 61 Harvard bMS Am. 1088 (1329-30), collated in my edition as Corrections.
- 62 Correspondence, II, 533; 538; 543; 546-7; 551.
- 63 R.H. Hutton, reviewing Poems and Prose Remains (1869), in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.256.



NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7

- 1 For a basic description of manuscripts, see Poems, pp.681-4; unfortunately, the list of scenes in the Third Revision (MS.2), p.682, has been carried over unchanged from the 1951 notes and refers to the numbering of that edition: it should read "i, ii(part), iv(part), and v". A similar problem occurs on p.689, in line 4 of the headnote to scene III, where III should read "IV".
- 2 Correspondence, II, 350 (21 December 1852): Poems, p.689.
- 3 Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough (privately printed, 1865), p.146.
- 4 Letters and Remains, pp.147-214.
- 5 Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry, A.L.P. Norrington, and F.L. Mulhauser (Oxford, 1951), pp.229-234, 532-537. The headnote to the collation (p.533) defends the policy as "an effort to preserve the general sense and the best poetry".
- 6 R.M. Gollin, "The 1951 Edition of Clough's Poems, a critical re-examination", Modern Philology, LX (1962), 126.
- 7 Cf. Dipsychus, III, 4-9; IV, 1-7 (Poems, pp.225-233). Future citations are made in the text, using the scene-numbering of the 1974 edition.
- 8 Cf. also scene X, 186-90, where the Spirit claims to be seeking his "lost sheep in the wilderness".
- 9 W.E. Houghton, The Poetry of Clough (New Haven, 1963), pp.156, 182.
- 10 Katherine Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (Oxford, 1961), pp.254-5, gives a good analysis of Clough's formal variation in the poem.
- 11 See, e.g., Festus's speech on the god-like nature of the stars, in P.J. Bailey, Festus (3rd edition, 1848), pp.106-111, but star-imagery is a staple of the poem: on the Edinburgh University Library copy, an unkind Victorian reader has added to the title-page, "A Treatise on Stars and Dust".
- 12 Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.133, the 1850 (Venice) Notebook, collated by Poems as MS.V: the speech is drafted, with the heading 'al Albergo', on f.45r; the last lines occur on f. 46v; while the first draft of scenes II and III occurs on ff.18v-22v.
- 13 Chorley, p.264; Masao Miyoshi, The Divided Self, a perspective on the literature of the Victorians (New York, 1969), p.167; Wendell V. Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (New York, 1970), p.89; Houghton, p.156.
- 14 Harris, pp.81, 82.
- 15 R.K. Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough (1972), pp.406, 414, 413, 387, 406.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7 (cont.)

16

Clyde de L. Ryals, "An interpretation of Clough's Dipsychus", Victorian Poetry, I (1963), 182-88, attempts to cope with the instability of tone by calling Dipsychus "a humorous poem ... one of the few truly humorous poems of the Victorian era", and by interpreting the "submission" of Dipsychus as a welcome resolution (pp.182, 188). This must, however, involve a misreading of scenes IX-XIV, as Dipsychus's sustained soliloquies cannot all be read satirically.

17

Poems and Prose Remains (1869), I, 39-40.

18

Correspondence, I, 284.

19

No letters or journals survive from the vacation, and no personal letters between July and December 1850.

20

Correspondence, I, 274.

21

Poems and Prose Remains, I, 44.

22

Correspondence, I, 284 (June 19 1850). Clough seems to have thought Shairp particularly prone to disabling speculation: see his letter to Tom Arnold, Correspondence I, 286 (July 24 1850).

23

See, e.g. [W.H. Smith], in Macmillan's Magazine, XV (1866), 98, repr. in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.210; Saturday Review, LXVI (July 7 1888), 25, repr. in Thorpe, p.331.

24

Chorley, p.251. Houghton, pp.162-63. The relevant passage in Goethe is in Part I, lines 764-9 (Faust, trans. Albert G. Latham, 1908, p.55). The letter was written to The Balance, and published February 13 1846:

The relation in which the moral and spiritual element stands, in our age, to the business-like and economic, reminds one of a traveller on the continent, who, much to his discontent, and not without continual but futile interference, is yet obliged, by his ignorance of the language and customs and character, to surrender the conduct of his journey to an experienced and faithful, but somewhat disreputable and covetous-minded, companion (Prose, p.217).

25

[William Allingham], in Fraser's Magazine, LXXIV (1866), 529, in Thorpe, p.202.

26

Goethe, Selected Verse, trans. David Luke (1964), pp.113-28; e.g. epigrams 4 (the picture of Italian society), 29 (the pointlessness of art), 37 (the girl as doll), 48 (sheep-image), 65 (mystery as mystification), 68-72 (the prostitute), 83 (the error of solemnity), 103 (experience as hope). Only a few individual epigrams had been translated into English by 1850, according to L.W.T. Simmons, Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation prior to 1860 (Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, no.6, Madison, 1919), pp.145-6, but Simmons's list is certainly incomplete (it includes, for instance,

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7 (cont.)

- none of Aytoun's translations from Blackwood's Magazine in 1844-5), and in any case Clough had some knowledge of German himself (Prose, p.202; Biswas, p.179).
- 27 Epigram 8, in Selected Verse, p.114. This had been translated into English by William Taylor in 1830, by J.S. Dwight in 1839, and was also one of those included in Bowring's translation of 1853, so was presumably among the best known sections (see Simmons, loc. cit. in n.26 above).
- 28 1850 (Venice) Notebook, as in n. 12 above, ff. 12 v, 13 r and v: citations from this notebook below are given by the Poems reference, MS.V. The standard psalm versions, both in England and Scotland, used "wicked", not "fool", in their first line, presumably for metrical reasons.
- 29 "Miss Martineau on evidence" (Poems, pp.330, 740); the stanzas were first printed, as a separate poem, by R.M. Gollin, in Bulletin of the New York Public Library, LXX (1966), 565, reprinted as Arthur Hugh Clough, a Descriptive Catalogue (New York, 1967), p.21, item 26.
- 30 MS.V, f.14 r, later revised as VI, 16-22; the whole section takes ff. 14r-18r, inclusive, and sub-sections are numbered to indicate later re-ordering.
- 31 MS.V, f. 14r: Poems, p.703, gives these lines in the collation, after line 26, followed by three others which, in MS.V, are marked to precede them.
- 32 MS.V, f. 14v: cf. Poems, p.703.
- 33 MS.V, f. 18v.
- 34 MS.V, f. 21r.
- 35 MS.V, f. 20v: cf. Poems, pp.228 and 691.
- 36 Cf. The Bothie, II, 184 (Poems, p.54), quoting I Corinthians, xv, 41.
- 37 MS.V, f. 20v: cf. Poems, p.691, after line 78, which reads "measures" for "treasures".
- 38 MS.V, f. 20v; Poems, p.229. Coleridge discusses the origin of the worship of Hymen, in Table Talk and Omniana, ed. T. Ashe (1884), pp.355-6.
- 39 MS.V, f. 22r. The initials for speakers have been supplied.
- 40 MS.V, f. 21v, afterwards used as III, 216-20.
- 41 These examples come from MS.V, ff. 22v-29v.
- 42 MS.V, ff. 30v-31r.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7 (cont.)

- 43 MS.V, ff. 64v-66r, 85v-r, 93v-92v, and 69r-68v. The later recopyings occur, for "As I sat in the cafe", in Mari Magno notebook, MS.B (Poems, pp.698, 768), and on a separate sheet; for "Where are the great", in the 1852 (Smith) Notebook (Poems, p.698); for the last two items, in the 1849-50 (Lamech) Notebook (Poems, pp.696-7, and 709-10).
- 44 MS.V, f. 23r; V, 66-9: cf. Adam and Eve, XIV, 47 (Poems, p.187), and Amours de Voyage, III, 173-81 (Poems, p.119).
- 45 MS.V, f. 22v; V, 70-71.
- 46 MS.V, ff. 24v-25r (Poems, pp.686-7); some punctuation supplied.
- 47 MS.V, f. 44r (Poems, pp.708-9).
- 48 MS.V, f. 24r (Poems, p.686): the speech was expanded for the intermediate version, and cut for the Third Revision.
- 49 ibid.
- 50 MS.V, f. 49r (cf. IX, 128-33).
- 51 "Peschiera" (Poems, p.300): also in the 1850 (Venice) Notebook. For evidence that Clough read In Memoriam, see Kathleen Tillotson, "Rugby 1850: Arnold, Clough, Walrond, and In Memoriam", Review of English Studies, n.s. IV (1953), 122-40, and in G. & K. Tillotson, Mid-Victorian Studies (1965), pp.180-203: cf. also P.G. Scott, "Tennyson and Clough", Tennyson Research Bulletin, I, no.3 (1969), 64-70.
- 52 IX, 15-20; in MS.V, ff. 69r-68v, the sentiment is the same, but the echo of Tennyson in the third line is less clear, reading "sounding silly" for "piping empty".
- 53 Such headings occur in MS.V, f. 53r (organising material later to be in scenes X, XI, and XII), and f. 56r (a plan covering the "lido" scene, and some soliloquies).
- 54 Two scenes are headed "ad finem", in MS.V, f. 33r (basically XIV, 36-45); and f. 55r-56v (basically XII, 31-75).
- 55 Poems, p.682.
- 56 Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d. 135, f. 1r and facing page.
- 57 MS.1, Bodleian MSS. Eng. Poet. d. 134 and 135.
- 58 W.E. Houghton, p.177 (who uses the numbering of the 1951 Clough Poems, not 1974).
- 59 Harris, p.81.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7 (cont.)

- 60 Harris, p.82.
- 61 Poems, p.682.
- 62 Epilogue, lines 12 and 17; in Poems, p.292.
- 63 Poems, p.682.
- 64 Biswas, pp.389-91.
- 65 Scene VII has the altered heading (from "IV") to "III", in MS.1, making this sequence more probable. A table summarizing the ordering in the different manuscripts is given in Poems (1951), p.530.
- 66 Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 134, f. 36v.
- 67 Epilogue, lines 14-15; in Poems, p.292.
- 68 Biswas, p.393. Dr. Biswas does, however, note some softening of the satire against Dipsychus during the revision process (pp.394-5).
- 69 The interpretation of the ending as tragic was made by J.A. Symonds (in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.246), and developed by Houghton, p.207.
- 70 Epilogue, lines 91-92; in Poems, p.294.
- 71 James Bertram, "The ending of Clough's Dipsychus", Review of English Studies, n.s. VII (1956), 59-60.
- 72 MS.V, f. 68v (reversed); Poems, p.304.
- 73 B.M.S. Clough to C.P. Graves, 2 September 1864, Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d. 178, f. 100; in Poems, p.683.
- 74 MS.2, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 136, which contains only scenes I, II (part), IV (part), and V.
- 75 R.M. Gollin, Modern Philology, LX (1962), 126.
- 76 Poems, pp.694-5, 698, 706: Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d. 138.
- 77 For the influence of the Spasmodics, see Mark A. Weinstein, William Edmonstone Aytoun and the Spasmodic Controversy (New Haven, 1968), pp.63-68; more generally, see W.F. Hauhart, The Reception of Goethe's 'Faust' in England in the first half of the nineteenth century (New York, 1909).
- 78 [W.H. Smith], "Festus", Blackwood's Magazine, LXVII (1850), 415-6 (identification from Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals).
- 79 [W.E. Aytoun], "Longfellow's Golden Legend", Blackwood's Magazine, LXXI (1852), 214-5 (quoted by Weinstein, p.64). "T. Percy Jones", Firmilian (1854), p. ix; in Poems of W.E. Aytoun, ed. F. Page (1921),

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7 (cont.)

- p.296.
- 80 George Saintsbury wrote that Dipsychus brought Clough "very close to the Spasmodic school, of which, in fact, he was an unattached and more cultivated member"; Saintsbury, A History of Nineteenth Century Literature (1896), 316-7, in Thorpe, p.341. The Spasmodic elements in Dipsychus are summarised by A.D. McKillop, "A Victorian Faust", P.M.L.A., XL (1925), 766-7, and discussed by J.H. Buckley, The Victorian Temper (1952), pp.107-8.
- 81 Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough (1865), p.146.
- 82 Symonds, Fortnightly Review, XXIV (1868), 607, repr. in Thorpe, pp.237-8; Sidgwick, Westminster Review, XCII (1869), 376-7, in Thorpe, p.281. Symonds had corresponded with Sidgwick on the question, which perhaps explains their common line: see Letters of John Addington Symonds, ed. Herbert M. Schueller and Robert L. Peters, vol. I (Detroit, 1967), 821.
- 83 Chorley, pp.264-6; F.L. Mulhauser, "The manuscript of 'Dipsychus continued'", Notes and Queries, CCXVII (1972), 253.
- 84 "Recent English Poetry", North American Review, LXXVII (1853), 1-30; reprinted in Prose, pp.143-71.
- 85 The sections of Dipsychus which were published separately in the 1862 editions were these: (i) At Venice - On the Lido (scene VI, 197-200); In the Piazza at night (scene X, 12-23; XI, 72-84; V, 204-23); (ii) Spectator ab extra (rewritten version of scene V, 130-95, as in Poems, pp.698-701); (iii) "'There is no God', the wicked saith" (scene V, 154-85); (iv) "Submit, submit!" (rewritten version, bringing back together again material previously dispersed through scenes X, XI, and XII); (v) "When the enemy is near thee" (scene XIII, 8-31); (vi) "It fortifies my soul to know"; (vii) "Where are the great, whom thou wouldst wish to praise thee" (scene V, 122-7).
- 86 Correspondence, II, 565.
- 87 [William Allingham], Fraser's Magazine, LXXIV (1866), 529, repr. in Thorpe, p.205.
- 88 P.J. Bailey, preface to the Jubilee edition of Festus, 1889; quoted by McKillop, as in n. 80 above, p.765.
- 89 Biswas, p.89.
- 90 Henry Sidgwick, as in n. 82 (p.376), in Thorpe, p.280. Cf. Samuel Waddington's comment: "it is not improbable that if the poem had been published in Clough's life-time he would have made some slight verbal alterations ... but these are small matters, and detract little from the general excellence of the poem" (Waddington, Arthur Hugh Clough, a Monograph, 1883, p.229).



NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7 (cont.)

91

Barbara Hardy, "Clough's self-consciousness", in Isobel Armstrong, ed., The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations (1969), p.270.

92

Gertrude Patterson, T.S. Eliot : poems in the making (Manchester, 1971), p.15.

Notes to Chapter (8)

- (1) There is a good discussion of Blanche's character in R.K. Biswas, Arthur Hugh Clough (1972), pp.418-21.
- (2) David Williams, Too Quick Despairer (1969), p.133.
- (3) Biswas, p.459; Kenneth Allott, in Yearbook of English Studies, IV (1974), 330.
- (4) Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (1961), p.244.
- (5) Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough (1869), I, 44-5.
- (6) The Times (December 12 1859), p.6; Athenaeum, no.1665 (September 24 1859), pp.291-2.
- (7) "Poems and Ballads of Goethe", Fraser's Magazine (June 1859), 710-717; in Prose, pp.187-202.
- (8) It has not, I think, previously been noted that Miss Nightingale was sufficiently grateful for Clough's endeavours to make a will, on one of her many death-beds, leaving to him "all that comes to me upon my father & mother's death"; Nightingale papers, vol. LVII, British Library Add. MS. 45795, f.9 (? 20 April 1859). This volume contains eleven letters to or from Clough, not included in Mulhauser's "Catalogue of All Known Letters" (Corr., II, 622-49).
- (9) Biswas, p.422.
- (10) Wendell V. Harris, Arthur Hugh Clough (1970), p.94.
- (11) Harris, pp.93, 107.
- (12) Poems, pp.14, 34-5, 574-5 (mostly post-publication variants), 586.
- (13) Poems, pp.38, 587-91. Portions of the draft have also been printed by R.B. Rutland, in Victorian Poetry, XI (1973), 283-4.
- (14) Poems, pp.206, 677. The first rough pencil draft was reproduced as the frontispiece in Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough (1951). Five manuscripts are discussed by A.L.P. Norrington, "'Say not, the struggle nought availeth'", in Essays mainly on the Nineteenth Century, presented to Sir Humphrey Milford (1948), pp.29-41.

## (Notes to chapter 8)

The sixth was first discussed by D.A. Robertson, Jr., "Clough's 'Say not' in MS.", Notes and Queries, CXCVI (1951), pp.499-500, and again by James Bertram, in New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1966), pp.225-8. The first published text of the poem, in the American art journal The Crayon in August 1855, was described by Francis A. Townsend, "Clough's 'The Struggle': the text, title, and date of publication", P.M.L.A., LXVII (1952), 1191-2, though it is difficult to agree with his conclusion that the punctuation of the Crayon text has a special authority.

- (15) Poems, pp.305-362 (though a few of the poems may be earlier).
- (16) Poems, pp.726-763.
- (17) Poems and Prose Remains (1869), II, 445-57. The "songs" are in Poems, pp.333-351, and variants are in Poems, pp.743-756.
- (18) Poems, pp.747, 338.
- (19) Poems, p.747 (stanza 2, lines (5) - (8) ).
- (20) Poems, pp.342, 750-751. To the four manuscripts collated in Poems should now be added a fifth, of stanza 1 only, in Clough's prose work "Letter of Paripedeus on Board the Canada", Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 512, f.57<sup>v</sup>, as noted by P.S. McGrane, "Unpublished poetic fragments and manuscripts of Arthur Hugh Clough", Victorian Poetry (forthcoming, 1976).
- (21) Poems, pp.336, 337; pp.342, 345.
- (22) Poems, p.208 (the parallel is closest in the 2nd, 3rd and 5th stanzas).
- (23) Poems, p.303, line 60.
- (24) Poems, p.752. It was only Mrs. Clough's misunderstanding that led to the printing of the continuation as a separate poem, yet a single continuous text would be far too longwinded for the ideas involved.
- (25) Poems, p.351.
- (26) Poems, p.756. The versions are on pp.756-7, and p.351.

## (Notes to chapter 8)

- (27) Houghton, p.208; Harris, p.93; Williams, p.106.
- (28) Poems and Prose Remains (1869), I, 45.
- (29) Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough (1951), pp.viii-ix.
- (30) Poems, pp.vi-vii.
- (31) ibid.
- (32) R.M. Gollin, "The 1951 edition of Clough's Poems; a critical re-examination", Modern Philology, LX (1962), 124.
- (33) There is an interesting analysis of the changing attitudes to the early and late versions of James Thomson's The Seasons, bringing out the influence of Romantic poetic theory on textual-critical assumptions, in Ralph Cohen, The Art of Discrimination, Thomson's 'The Seasons' and the Language of Criticism (1964), esp. pp.39-46, 69-70.
- (34) Gollin, as in n. 32 above, p.125.
- (35) e.g. in the copies given to Clough's mother, and to Anne Jemima Clough (both in the possession of Miss Katharine Duff); in the copy presented to W.J. Martineau (now in the library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill); and in Clough's own copies, A (on end leaf), and B (Bodleian MSS. Eng. poet. e.88 and e.89).
- (36) Poems, p.563-4; Gollin, as in n. 32, p.122.
- (37) In his Modern Philology article, Gollin essays no date for this copy, but in a later comment he suggests that its titles "are apparently among the last authorised" i.e. [after the letters of 1859]: see R.M. Gollin, W.E. Houghton, and Michael Timkó, eds., Arthur Hugh Clough, a Descriptive Catalogue (New York, 1967), pp.30-31. The evidence for an early dating is (i) the binding of this copy is the same as that of the 1849 joint-volume; (ii) the copy includes proofs; (iii) copies known to have been inscribed later than 1852 all have different bindings; (iv) the markings in A agree in most respects with those in Anne Jemima Clough's copy, described below, and dating from 1849.
- (38) Cf. Correspondence, II, 477 (February 28 1854).

## (Notes to chapter 8)

- (39) Poems, p.576.
- (40) Gollin, Descriptive Catalogue, pp.30-31.
- (41) This copy is now in the library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: I am grateful to Mrs. H.G. Schuberg, Head of Acquisitions at Chapel Hill, for transcribing the alterations for me. On p.1 "singly" is deleted, and "in turn" inserted after "each"; on p.5 "be these" is altered to "are these"; and on p.29 "an" is altered to "on".
- (42) I am indebted to Miss Katharine Duff for allowing me to inspect this copy.
- (43) Blanche Athena Clough, Anne Jemima Clough (1897), p.74.
- (44) This is on the evidence of (i) the binding - see entry in Appendix III below; and (ii) that the corrections in this copy were used by Mrs. Clough for the 1862 edition, and include broadly similar ones to those Clough himself ordered in his letters of 1858-59.
- (45) Correspondence, II, 561-2.
- (46) See, e.g., Poems and Prose Remains, I, 50-51; Chorley, pp.321-3.
- (47) Poems and Prose Remains I, 51.
- (48) ibid.
- (49) Albert Morton Turner, "A Study of Clough's Mari Magno", P.M.L.A., XLIV (1929), esp. pp.569-74. Cf. Correspondence, II, 326-8; Letters and Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray, ed. Gordon N. Ray, 4 vols: vol. III, 1852-56 (1946), 106-111.
- (50) David Masson, in Macmillan's Magazine, VI (1862), 331 (in Thorpe, Critical Heritage, p.154): cf. Houghton, p.211; Biswas, p.463; Williams, p.133; Harris, p.138.
- (51) See H.W. Garrod, Poetry and the Criticism of Life (1931), (1931), pp.122-3; Williams, p.138.
- (52) [W.Y. Sellar], in North British Review, XXXVII (1862), 342 (in Thorpe, p.193); Boston Review, III (1863), 132-8 (in Thorpe, p.199).
- (53) See Turner, as in n. 49 above, pp.581-8.



## (Notes to chapter 8)

- (54) Clough comments on both poems in his letters: see Correspondence, II, 524-5 (Aurora Leigh); II, 494, 496 (Angel in the House). Clough knew Patmore mainly through the Tennysons, but had met him as early as January 1851: see Basil Champneys, Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore, 2 vols. (1900), II, 175.
- (55) See P.G. Scott, Tennyson's 'Enoch Arden': A Victorian Best-Seller (Lincoln, 1970), pp.7-8. Clough had read his new poem aloud to Tennyson, while they were on tour together in the Pyrennees, shortly before Tennyson began writing Enoch Arden, and there are specific verbal parallels, as well as the broader generic similarity.
- (56) George Brimley, Essays, ed. W.G. Clark (Cambridge, 1858), pp.222,233,235.
- (57) Prologue, lines 85-90 (Poems, p.376).
- (58) Correspondence, II, 584.
- (59) See Fanny Price, "Clough and Patmore", Notes and Queries, CLXXXIII (1942), 376.
- (60) J.A. Symonds, in Fortnightly Review, XXIV (1868), 601 (in Thorpe, p.230).
- (61) Poems and Prose Remains (1869), I, 45.
- (62) "The Lawyer's First Tale", II, 53-128 (Poems, pp.383-4).
- (63) Lines 95-6 (Poems, p.399).
- (64) Amours de Voyage, II, 264 (Poems, p.111).
- (65) Cf. lines 170-222 (Poems, pp.401-2); and Amours de Voyage, V, letter XI (Poems, p.133).
- (66) Further autobiographical elements in the Mari Magno tales are surveyed by Turner, as in n. 49 above, pp.569-81.
- (67) Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough (London, 1862) p.226.

(Notes to chapter 8)

- (68) The manuscript sources are fully described in Poems, pp.767. The most substantial alteration Clough made was in the cancellation of some lines about the stirring of adolescent sexuality, from "The Lawyer's First Tale", II, 141-59, in his last revision (see Poems, pp.775-6), and, significantly, these were about an unstable, troubled, emotion.
- (69) Harris, p.132.
- (70) Poems and Prose Remains, I, 51.
- (71) Turner, as in n. 49, pp.588-9.
- (72) Poems, pp.767-8.

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Cambridge University Library: J.M. Ludlow papers.

Miss Katharine Duff, Kingston-on-Thames: Clough material.

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